

THE ARENA

VOLUME XXII.

JULY TO DECEMBER, 1899

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JULY, 1899.

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The ARENA

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them. They master us and force us into THE ARENA, where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."

— Helms.

A MONTHLY REVIEW OF SOCIAL ADVANCE.

Edited by PAUL TYNER.

F. HOPKINSON SMITH
BETWEEN THE ANIMALS AND THE ANGELS
TO A BLUEBELL (Poem)
THE MAN WITH THE HOE (Poem, Illustrated)

Frontispiece Portrait
Benjamin Fay Hill
Barton O. Aylesworth
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THE "HOE MAN" ON TRIAL.

EDWARD B. PAYNE.

AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE (With Portrait)
MODERN COLLEGE EDUCATION.

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WHERE PEACE DOTH DWELL (Poem)
ART IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

COURSES OF STUDY FOR NORMAL SCHOOLS

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THE KINGSVILLE PLAN OF EDUCATION.

EDWARD ERF.

WORKERS AT WORK.—V. F. HOPKINSON SMITH.

THE BUFFALO CONFERENCE { PLAN AND SCOPE.

DEAD IN HIS HARNESS (Poem)
UNITE OR PERISH

POSSIBILITIES OF THE CONFERENCE

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S. IVAN TONJOROFF.

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OBJECTIONS ANSWERED

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RAMSESE THE GREAT (Poem)

UNDER THE ROSE

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

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Reviewed by Helen Campbell, H. W. D., and F. P.

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The business and editorial offices of THE ARENA are and have been since the first issue, Pierce Building, Copley Square, Boston, Mass., to which all communications should be addressed.

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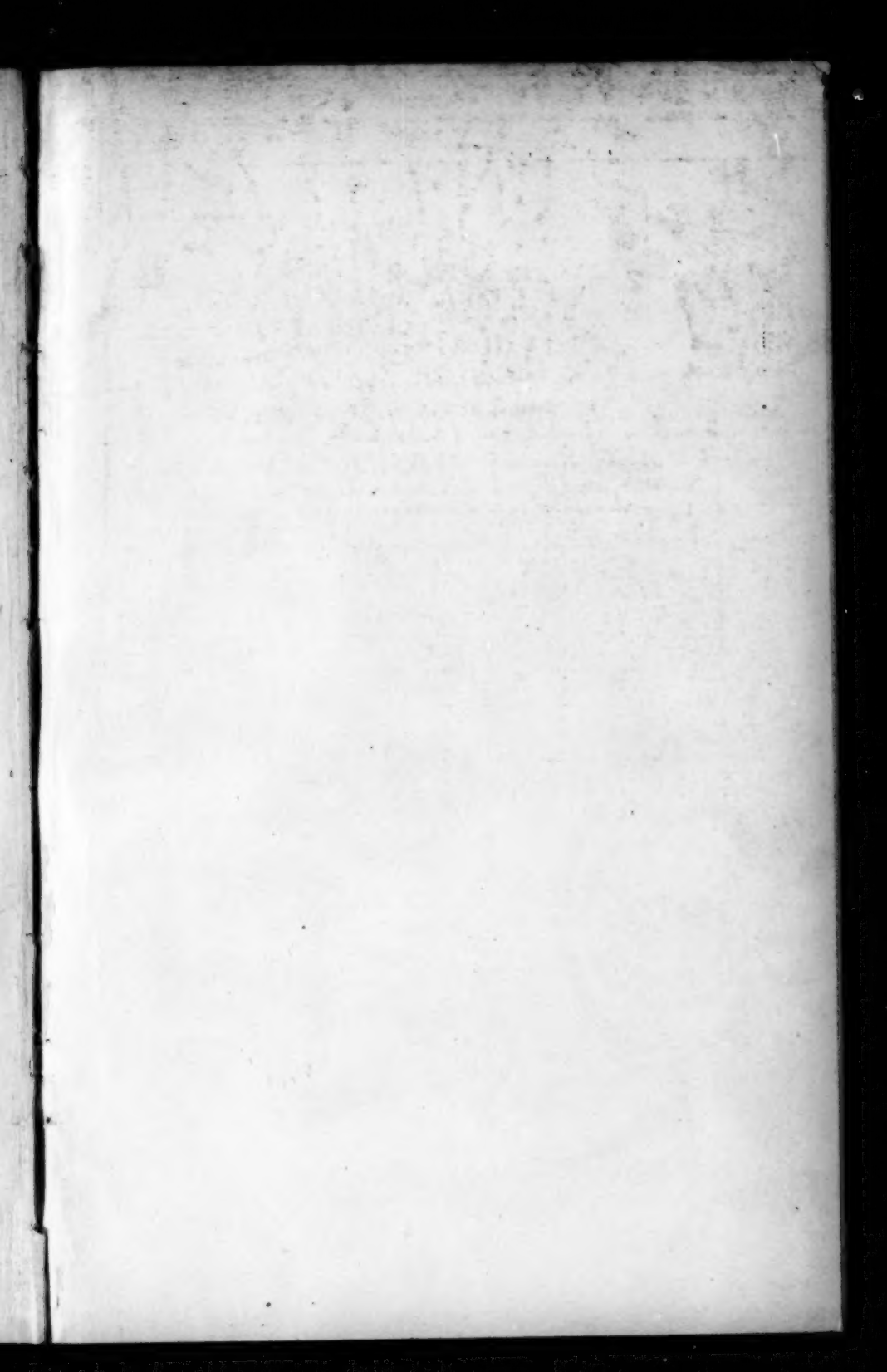
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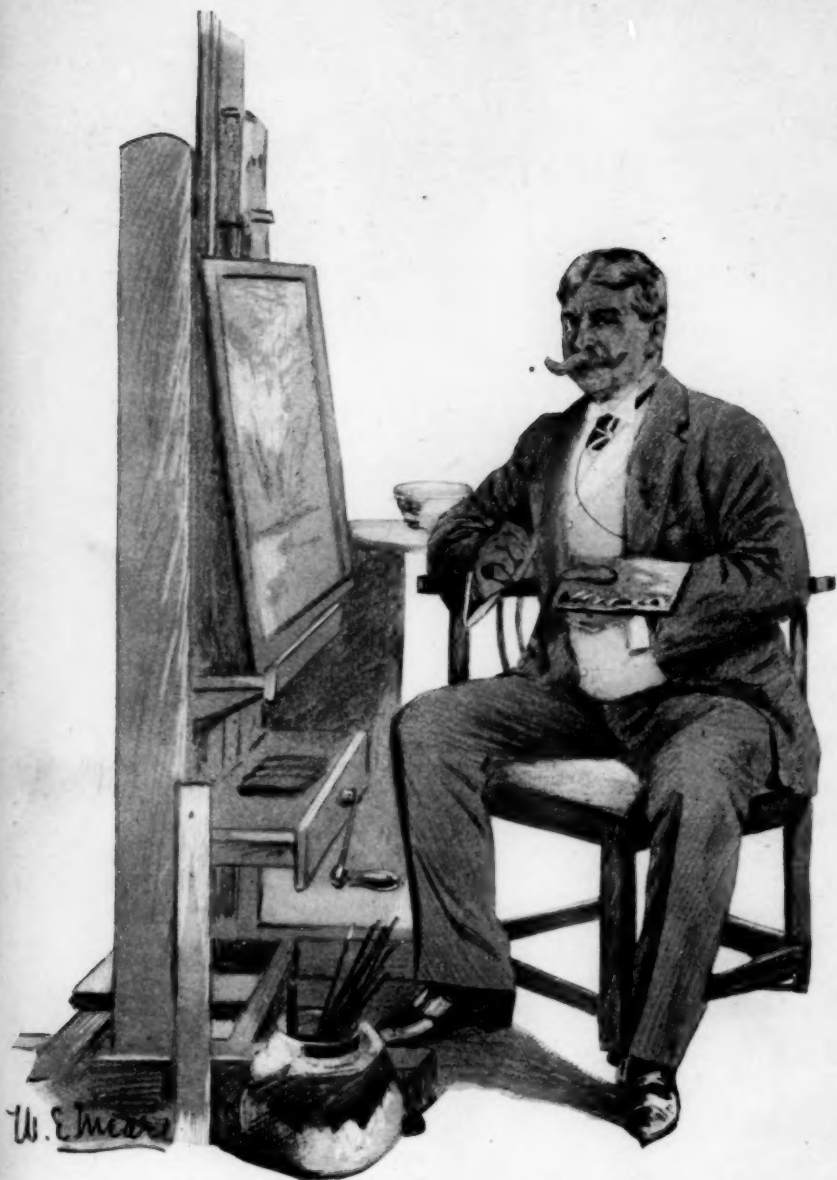
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THE ARENA COMPANY, Publisher,
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(Incorporated 1899.)





F. HOPKINSON SMITH AT HIS EASEL.
Workers at Work Series, V. (See page 68.)

THE ARENA

VOL. XXII.

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No. 1.

BETWEEN THE ANIMALS AND THE ANGELS.

WE used to think that God formed man of the dust of the earth, and that then he "breathed into his nostrils the breath of life, and man became a living soul."

Personally, I do not know just how man came into his heritage and began to realize that he was something more than an animal that did not know its own spiritual capacity. The great conflict of this generation in which you and I have been living, so far as philosophy is concerned, has been a conflict between materialism and spiritualism. I use the word "spiritualism" in its large sense, not referring especially to communication with departed spirits, but as to the theory of the making and the constitution of our known universe. By "materialism" I mean the theory that says, "Matter is that which we can see and handle, and all our knowledge comes to us through the investigation of material things." By the spiritual theory I mean that which presupposes the existence of a great conscious personality, working towards certain ends, and producing the material, not as an end, but as the means for the accomplishment of an end.

Science at first was materialistic, but when it partially realized itself it discovered three things,—Order, Progress, Life. By "Order" I mean that this is a universe governed by law. Science commenced by rejecting miracle, and it went on, and is going on today, trying to account for all the world's processes by laws that may be discovered. But in

order to account for this order the world's most scientific philosopher has come to speak of something that is back of the laws, in abstract terms, describing it as an abstract quality, and saying that he cannot but believe in "The Infinite and Eternal Energy from which all things proceed." So when science utters the word "Progress" it gives similar testimony. It shows us that man has come from the animal. A certain development of mind made man, and then there appeared something beyond a mind, that we call the moral faculty. And here science is in accord with the highest spiritual philosophy of any time. The third discovery of science has been Life. Science analyzed man, and the plant, and the clod, and it came to an enigma. When the last atom that could be divided by scientific processes had been divided, science had to pause and say, "Life,—we do not understand it." If a minister, thirty years ago, had said that he believed there was life not only in the plant, but also life in the earth in which it grows and in the pot in which it stands, and life in everything, he might have been tried for heresy, and deposed from the ministry. Every scientist on the face of the globe would say today that when he has analyzed the stone or the clod to the last point to which he can go, he discovers a force controlling motion.

Science had to follow natural lines of development. "There is a natural body and a spiritual body," says Paul, and we had first to become acquainted with the natural body. But all science has come at last to hint that at the heart of the stone there is the same breathing spirit that makes an angel; there is the identical spirit that made Jesus; there is the same spirit that we call "God." I do not care how you define it; I do not care where you start, whether you call yourself a philosopher or a scientist,—if you are a reasonable person you have to come to the thought of that great underlying, developing force. I call it "Spirit" because I do not know a better name. And if there might be one confession that I would rather make than any other, it would be that I believe in "Spirit." I do not believe there is anything else. All

things that exist are different forms and expressions of God, and I use the term "Spirit" in its general sense, as identical with God.

Matter is not a delusion. I recognize our debt to the people who call themselves Christian Scientists, but I believe that matter is a very real thing. Matter is a form or kind of vibration of the Eternal Spirit, or, if you wish to put it so, a certain expression of God. The cause for the variety in matter is the desire of God to express himself in different forms. I am speaking within the limits at least of the strictest implications of science when I say that matter is formed by vibrations; you may call the material "ether" if you wish, and I will call it "spirit." Mind is a less dense expression of spirit—just as really an expression of spirit, however, as the body, another form of revelation of the great Spirit. We learned some time ago that matter differed from matter,—according to our latest scientific theories,—because of the different forms of combination of the same atoms, and the different rate of vibration of the molecules that make the different substances. And so mind is a higher mode, or method, or expression of God; a different rate of vibration of the same atoms that make the animal, and the flower, and the clod.

Spirit is the one material of which the universe is made.

Every theory that has been held until the present time by large numbers of people, has been a dualistic theory, that is, that there are two antagonistic expressions in the universe. You will find this idea in every religion, and more or less in every philosophy, that has been accepted by large numbers of people. But we ought to have grown to a reasonable philosophy that would have killed the devil and buried him beyond all recognition. We should recognize everything that exists as a manifestation of the eternal good and the eternal God. I would not put the animal body and the spiritual body in contradistinction to one another. They are simply different in the way they are put together. The natural body is a spiritual body, only it is a little more dense and visible to the eye than the bodies that are unseen and that may clothe

us when we come into our higher possibilities. Water may be turned into steam by the application of heat, and into ice by the application of cold. It is the same water all the time, and it is the application of the Eternal Will working through the individual will that gives the outward expression that we call the form.

How shall we define man? Suppose there had been just one man in the world, before the rest became men,—I mean, one reasoning creature,—how would he have defined those who had not yet quite come to be men? He would have called them animals; and he would have been right. What would he have called himself, if he had passed over the line that stands between man and animal? He would have called himself a superior animal, with hints of progressive possibility. When he came to realize himself and what it was that gave him the power of analysis and classification, he would have called himself a rational animal. As he developed, he would have learned that he was not a body with a mind, but a mind with a body. He would have been led, as we have been led, step by step through the processes of the past, to the place where, when we say "I," we do not mean the body. Instead of saying "I," meaning the body, and talking about "my soul," the rational man when he says "I," really means his soul and talks about "my body." My body is simply an appurtenance that belongs to me; I do not belong to my body. The next stage was when man became an aspiring animal. He has hardly outgrown that yet, but we have sufficient hints and glimpses to give us reason to believe that all will come to see mind and body, not so much as instruments, as expressions of the Infinite Spirit leading to self realization.

A great theory suggests life as throwing itself out every so many millions of years, embodying itself in the lowest conceivable conditions, and enriching itself by all its experiences; and by its higher and higher manifestations and vibrations bringing itself back, larger and fuller and more nearly complete, to the center from which it came. I can

see the beauty in that ; all the God that there is in me can recognize with something like a thrill of ecstatic appreciation such a theory. When we go to the theater we like to have the plot badly mixed until things seem to be in inextricable confusion, because we know that in the last act it will turn out all right. And it is exactly in the same way that we are led to bring into the world an earthly child, in order that, by our creation of him,— so far as we can create,— and our development of him, and our training him, we may give him all we have and send him on to something better. The lowest has in itself the germs of the highest, and the most incomplete has in it the certainties of all the greatest things that can be imagined in the universe.

The first men lived mostly in the body ; they were scarcely conscious that they had minds. After they had begun to think and reason and compare, they knew practically nothing of the spirit. They committed all sorts of abuses of the flesh. The highest ambition of the first men was to kill somebody ; and we have something of this left in us still. But advanced people are living more and more rationally as regards the body. We are escaping from the period of the body, and are now in the period between the animal and the angel. The more rational of us are moving as far as we can into the region of the mind, and even beyond it.

But, as in the animal experiences selfishness produced cruelty and seeming retrogression, so while man is learning the lesson of himself as a mental being, he has sometimes used his larger powers selfishly ; as appears, for example, in the unspeakably offensive anachronism called commercialism, which accompanies our present civilization. But the mental alone is no more the consummation than was the animal, and there is something coming that is higher than this selfish experience of man, when he realizes his mental power and tries to use it only for himself. For just as surely as the rational man surpasses the brutal man, so the truly spiritual man will surpass the mental or rational man. There are some people who are not yet beyond the domination of the

body. And there are multitudes who are living in the mental region; and consequently their God is the reason, and they say, "We will believe only what is reasonable." The angels think of this exactly as a man thinks when he sees another man acting like a wild beast. The man thinks that this one has not grown as far away from the brute as he might, and the angel thinks that this other man has not grown into that higher experience that is beyond what we call the rational. Of course I am using the terms mental and rational in a narrow, and not in the broadest sense.

The lowest kind of conviction is to be convinced by force and matter. If I am not using my mind and I go too near the edge of a precipice, over I go, and I am convinced of what is there in a very practical fashion. But there is something beyond creeping with the tentacles, and that is walking by the eyesight. When man has grown out of the lowest plane, he comes to act as a reasonable being; and when he gets higher still, he comes to have spiritual intuition. Only a soul here and there has any practical confidence in this spiritual perception; few have learned to use it as yet. But I believe it will commend itself to almost every soul that there is something higher for man than what we call intellectual proof, that reason is on a lower plane than intuition; and that just as we have learned to trust the mind rather than the body, so now we need to learn to trust our highest intuitions, our spiritual perceptions.

Sir Edwin Arnold asks: "Where does nature show signs of breaking off her magic, that she should stop at the five organs and the sixty or seventy elements?" And Prof. Goldwin Smith says: "Physical science is nothing more than the perceptions of our five bodily senses, registered and methodized. But what are these five senses? According to physical science itself, they are nerves in a certain stage of evolution. Why then should it be assumed that their account of the universe, or of our relations to it, is exhaustive and final? Why should it be assumed that these five senses of ours are the only possible organs of perception, and that

no other faculties or means of communication with the universe can ever in the course of evolution be developed in man?" The animal is unconscious of the universe that science has revealed to us. It may be that the leaf thinks it has a complete theory of the universe! Why not? It may be that the lowest form of vegetable life is just as confident that it knows all that can be known of the universe as the most confident man who ever trod the planet. We need to discover new senses. Nature is fairly groaning and travelling in pain until now, as Paul said it was eighteen hundred years ago, waiting for the manifestation of the Sons of God,—men who realize their deity, and who control the material at will and consciously.

I shall not be satisfied until I can consciously create the form in which I please to live. If we use our possibilities to the greatest limit we will acquire the power to make forms and circumstances to be appropriate, and to suit our pleasure. Form is really created out of spirit, as a spider spins his web out of himself. And the most reasonable thing I can think about myself is that right now I am what I choose to be. It is learning this that will make a man an angel rather than an animal. We have learned this to some extent. We say that we control our bodies and create our circumstances; but we will find that it is just as easy to create our bodies and control our circumstances. If this body does not suit my purposes, I will learn to create one. If these circumstances are not appropriate, the one thing we are here for is to make them appropriate.

Electricity was in the world for some millions of years before man found it out. He did not learn how to run an electric car until twelve or fifteen years ago. He was not able to send his thought around the world. Electricity is the greatest thing we have discovered, but it is not the greatest thing we ever shall discover.

Now apply this to what we call sin and suffering in life. There is a great deal of suffering that is caused by misapprehension, just as an animal suffers because he does not

really see things in their true relations. Sin and suffering are precisely alike in the last analysis, and they are caused by allowing our bodies and our circumstances to master us rather than our mastering them. The real difficulties that confront us are glorious, and they are stones in building the world structure, and essential elements in forming personal and social character. All desirable things might come to us better by the experience of the opposite of pain and evil, if we know how to use the divinest law. Nothing is ever accomplished by punishment that might not better be accomplished by perfect kindness wisely applied. The evil and the pain are divine expedients, and they only exist in order that men may learn to live without them. In the line of the greatest temptation that ever came to you are the indications of what you are to be and to do. The man who burns with passion is gifted with great possibility, if only his desires may be rightly directed into the form of an exquisite and powerful bond of union for family life and for the world force that is generated thereby. The convivial, social spirit, condemned by some, sometimes committing excesses of many sorts, is designed, rightly directed, to make a Paradise for man.

The way to conquer all vice is to make it seem inappropriate. My distinguished brother, you would almost — almost — rather murder a man than “make a fool of yourself” in the ordinary sense of the expression. My sister, rather than wear some thoroughly fantastic, old-fashioned and-ridiculous dress, I am afraid there are at least some sins in the catalogue which you would be willing to commit. The old things that we really leave off are the things that have come to seem to us now and forever inappropriate.

So, too, with social institutions. Institutions are as real entities as physical forms, and there have to be higher and higher forms of society. Institutions crystallize social thought and become our masters, like our bodies. We want no environment of which we are not the masters. The socialist movement of today is just as much a movement of

the Divine Spirit as is the progress in art, or science, or sanitation. Men having thus far developed, must create better environment. Social conditions ought to be different, not only for abstract ethical reasons, or practical economic ones, but because they are so lamentably inappropriate to the real state of the development of humanity.

To prolong our competitive system; to fail to give equal opportunities to all men, to distrust the people, and trust the infamous politicians — or, what is worse, to trust no one — to enthrone greed; to issue money save as a convenience to the people, the whole people, and nothing but the people; to tolerate monopoly anywhere on the planet; to be the slaves of a senator in Pennsylvania, of a boss in New York, of a railway in New England, of a plutocratic ring in Boston, and of corporate greed in our national government; to have a Fifth Avenue in New York that runs down into a noisome, offensive, pestilential South Fifth Avenue; to have a Back Bay on the one side of Boston and a North End on the other; to tolerate millions of workless men in this most prosperous country and tens of millions of others with their wants unsupplied; — all these and other possible illustrations of our present social conditions, are as inappropriate to our knowledge and our conscience, and as ridiculous and degrading as it would be for men and women to walk on hands and feet, or to get down and crawl as they used to do before they graduated from the reptilian age.

I have heard of people who could not be socialists because they thought the theory a materialistic one. But I am a socialist in this sense because it is the appropriate and not the arbitrary or unnatural form for the organization of society; not as it will be in some Golden Age, but as it is today. And I think that as reasonable, spiritual men and women we need to provide rational forms for the expression of our knowledge and our consciousness. There are those on the one hand who would call themselves socialists, who would also call themselves materialists, and who would almost froth at the mouth if it were intimated to them that they could

believe in any form of spiritual philosophy whatsoever. And there are other people who are so "spiritual" that they utterly disregard the conditions of the world in which they live. And neither the materialist nor the spiritualist is consistent. I have absolutely no hope for an unspiritual or professedly irreligious socialism. It is time that society waked up and used its eyes. People who have spiritual conceptions are guided with their eyes rather than by their tentacles. We have the power to give the necessary inspiration, and the great ambition of humanity from this point of view should be to provide "a social body for the soul of God."

We see the process going on in the individual and in the race. How may we accelerate it? By intelligent recognition; by living in it, and feeding on it. I cannot stand upon the street and see the tree blossom but I realize that there is the same life that is pulsing through my brain and inspiring my heart. I recently read a wonderfully beautiful essay about communion with trees, and I went out to try it on the trees. Not simply an admiration for the trees, not merely a glorying in what we can see of the life that is in the trees, but a real going out of the heart to the tree, a communion of the human spirit with the spirit of the tree, and feeling the response. There are some people who seem to think that it is dignified to look down on the animal and the vegetable, and say, "I am higher than these." But you really give your love to a tree and the tree will give its love back to you. At the heart of everything is the same spirit that makes you yourself — the inspiration that ought to bring peace and health and purity and power.

And now, I can hardly venture to write the words which I might choose. Let me utter what might be a message from the great Universal Soul; and see if in this message there may not come some word of more than electric inspiration for our lives. Listen then!

"O Men and Women, if I had come seeking a friend whom I knew was behind closed doors, if I knocked and

knocked and yet received no response, if I vainly tried to peer through curtained windows, and could see nothing, would I cease to persist until I discovered that friend and brought him forth?

"I am knocking now at the outer casements of your beings. I am calling to you as souls. I am looking down through your eyes to see the inmost recesses of your being. The responses you are making are more or less partial and uncertain. You may believe these things philosophically, intuitionally, but the most advanced of you have but partially yielded yourselves to the truth as yet, and some are hiding away, and will not answer to my call. Some have timidly looked without, have made some faint essays toward living a spiritual life, but have become frightened and overawed by the brute facts of matter and so-called reason, and have again withdrawn into fear and sloth. Some are slumbering. Some have never been really born into the world-life at all, are just mere embryonic spirits held fast in the womb of clay. But *you are there*, and I believe in you as I believe in myself, because I know you to be the germ of the highest possible expression, of the life of God,—the full-grown man; because there is no human life that has grown into unusual beauty and strength and sweetness but in you I see glimpses and indications of it; because there is no other explanation of your being than the best, and I can pierce through the veils and barriers of matter and mind, and I know, I know that *you* are there.

"So I shall not cease to call and knock and demand and plead, to thunder in the tones of law, to whisper with the voice of tenderness, to stagger you with arguments, to melt you with sweet influences of love, until you, spirits of men, divine eternal spirits, sparks out of the great infinite universal Life Spirit, come forth from your self-built houses of clay, divest yourselves of your swaddling bands, your sleeping garments, or your grave clothes, and stand erect and conscious in the integrity, the beauty, and the power of your real being.

"Know! know! I beseech you; know! I command you, that you are divine. You are not 'poor weak mortals,' as you have called yourselves. You are not bodies that may be preyed upon by disease, and broken and destroyed by other forces of nature; minds with wills not yet sufficiently strong to withstand certain great forms of temptation; hearts that must suffer and break. You are *souls*: souls that are one with me, the great Universal, Eternal, Omnipotent Soul of Life. Know that the resources of Infinity are your resources! Know that your body and your mind are but instruments for your use—nay, more, that they are but expressions of your spirit, your real life, that you may control and adapt them, and farther on you may create them at your will. Why should they ever be weak? Why should you ever be ill unless you choose? You shall learn the meaning of the words of that great Master of the art of living, when he said, 'I have power to lay down my life, and I have power to take it again.'

"And concerning the forces of nature, why should you be buffeted or injured by them? You shall interpret them, you shall master them by learning that they are one with yourselves: and they shall do your bidding, not as servants, but as fellow members of one vast, complex, complete organization.

"And concerning the circumstances that fence you round, the societary forms that mold you and that push you along in certain grooves, the institutions that hold up authoritative hands with gestures of command or threat, I would have you know that these are all but toys and instruments of your own making.

"Who constructed these fences? Who cast these forms? Who builded these institutions? Men and women by their own thought and their own effort. Into them there has been breathed the breath of no life but yours, and the power that these forms and institutions seem to possess is your own power in an externalized form. If you continue to give them the precious allegiance, loyalty, and energy of

your minds and souls, you shall erstwhile realize that you have been casting your pearls before swine, and they will turn again and rend you.

"Pitiable, indeed, is the man who is mastered by institutions and circumstances. You are meant to command them, and neither to fear nor obey. Have you less power than the men of old? Having created your governments, your customs, and your churches, have you exhausted the source of power? Do not believe so paralyzing a lie! You have but to look within your own sanctuaries of mind and heart to see fair pictures of more loving forms of association, truer fashions and methods of life, holier religious expressions and inspirations. And these are not mere reflections of some beautiful thought that is less an entity than what may be seen and touched; they are not even foreshadowings of beneficent purposes of God that may be realized in the far distant future. They are the very substances of things hoped for, the fine, impalpable but unavoidably real and powerfully generative substance that you may voluntarily project into the world of matter, and that will surely undermine the old, and build out of its materials that which is larger, finer, nobler, more worthy of souls that are coming to know themselves.

"Arise, then, in the strength of your nature, in the might of the God you are!

"Time was when the word 'animal' might have headed the whole descriptive catalogue concerning the species of man. Time was when the word 'mind' would have replaced the lower form of designation. It was a great day when you came to know yourselves as intellectual beings. Marvelous have been the creations and manifestations that are the fruit of that day. Its achievements have been great and honorable and far-reaching beyond previous compare. Full of its vigor you have climbed great heights, and yet pass on to those that are higher. It is not a day that is fading, or will fade; but its light will be caught up in radiance that is yet fuller and lovelier. For the day of the Soul approacheth,

the beams of its sun have penetrated the world-life here and there throughout all the ages. Every religion of the world has been a prism by which you have been trying to catch, imprison, and give these sunbeams unto men. *

"The day is at hand when you shall know that you are speaking too poorly of yourselves when you say that you are animals, or intellectual beings; when you shall know that you are *souls*. And in uttering this word I am enunciating the fact that this time has *now come* for some of you. Not that you may realize all its significance and power at once. But, having once consecrated yourselves on the altar of this great truth, having once lifted your eyes to behold the light and beauty of it, having drawn one full breath of its inspiration, and felt its more than electric thrill along your nerves, you shall find increasingly easy and possible all that it implies of victory in the whole field of practical life, and you shall continue to look upward and onward, and to go upward and onward."

And as we hear this voice let us make enthusiastic response. We realize that we "stand on the heights of our lives, with a glimpse of a height that is higher." Not as though we had already attained, either were already perfect; but we will press forward that we may apprehend that for which we also have been apprehended.

BENJAMIN FAY MILLS.

Brookline, Mass.

TO A BLUEBELL.

Morn by morn I lift thy dark blue cup
And search its mystic chalice through.
Although to every sipping bee inclined,
It e'er contains one drop of dew.

BARTON O. AYLESWORTH.



"THE MAN WITH THE HOE." *

(Written after seeing Millet's world-famous painting.)

"God made man in His own image,
in the image of God made He him."—*Genesis*.

BOWED by the weight of centuries he leans
Upon his hoe and gazes on the ground,
The emptiness of ages in his face,
And on his back the burden of the world.
Who made him dead to rapture and despair,
A thing that grieves not and that never hopes,
Stolid and stunned, a brother to the ox?
Who loosened and let down this brutal jaw?
Whose was the hand that slanted back this brow?
Whose breath blew out the light within this brain?

* From "The Man with the Hoe, and Other Poems." The Doubleday & McClure Co., New York.

Is this the thing the Lord God made and gave
 To have dominion over sea and land;
 To trace the stars and search the heavens for power;
 To feel the passion of Eternity?
 Is this the Dream He dreamed who shaped the suns
 And pillared the blue firmament with light?
 Down all the stretch of Hell to its last gulf
 There is no shape more terrible than this —
 More tongued with censure of the world's blind greed —
 More filled with signs and portents for the soul —
 More fraught with menace to the universe.

What gulfs between him and the seraphim!
 Slave of the wheel of labor, what to him
 Are Plato and the swing of Pleiades?
 What the long reaches of the peaks of song,
 The rift of dawn, the reddening of the rose?
 Through this dread shape the suffering ages look;
 Time's tragedy is in that aching stoop;
 Through this dread shape humanity betrayed,
 Plundered, profaned, and disinherited,
 Cries protest to the Judges of the World,
 A protest that is also prophecy.

O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
 Is this the handiwork you give to God,
 This monstrous thing distorted and soul-quenched?
 How will you ever straighten up this shape;
 Touch it again with immortality;
 Give back the upward looking and the light;
 Rebuild in it the music and the dream;
 Make right the immemorial infamies,
 Perfidious wrongs, immedicable woes?

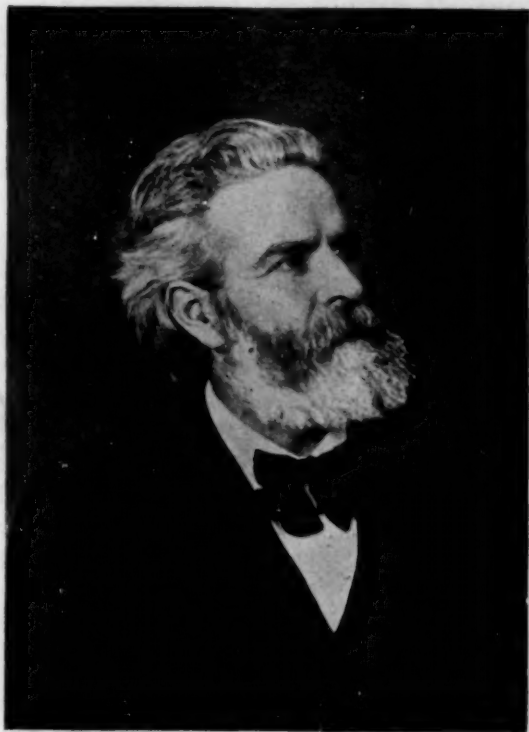
O masters, lords, and rulers in all lands,
 How will the Future reckon with this Man?
 How answer his brute question in that hour
 When whirlwinds of rebellion shake the world?
 How will it be with kingdoms and with kings —
 With those who shaped him to the thing he is —
 When this dumb Terror shall reply to God
 After the silence of the centuries?

EDWIN MARKHAM.

Oakland, Cal.

THE "HOE MAN" ON TRIAL.

AS a literary production Edwin Markham's poem, "The Man with the Hoe," needs no argument—its exceptional merit in that particular being almost universally conceded. The chief interest for Arena readers in this



EDWIN MARKHAM.

"child of a procreant brain" lies in the fact that the poem has been, and is yet, the center of a remarkable controversy bearing on the social problems of modern times. Walt Whitman prophesied of a future for these states when "Their

presidents shall not be their common referee so much as their poets shall," and the widespread and earnest attention accorded to this poem may be taken as an illustrative instance of the power of the poet to stir and direct the thoughts of men. Here is a case in which men are deeply moved and sharply aroused, not by an act of legislation, not by a scientific demonstration, not by a logical argument, but by a few lines of verse sung out from the frontier West by one hitherto but little known, but now at once recognized as a leader of the people, girded with moral purpose and inspired by urgings of social justice.

The newspaper clippings referring to the poem indicate a remarkable itinerary for "The Man with the Hoe" since its first publication in the San Francisco Examiner, January 15, 1899. Daily and weekly papers republished it, generally with extended comments, first throughout California and the Pacific States; then in the Mississippi valley; on into New York and New England; over the line into Canada; and even across the sea stretch to the Hawaiian Islands. It appears to have everywhere stimulated thought upon social problems, and to have called out vigorous and diversified expressions of opinion all along the line of its course.

Mr. Bailey Millard, literary editor of the Examiner, was the first to record an opinion. He greeted Mr. Markham as "a new voice, deep-toned, sonorous, singing grandly," and pronounced the poem "a piece of virile verse, one of the very few true poems, written by Californians"; adding that "it is tense, sympathetic, interest compelling, and, above all, heroically human." Forthwith, that distinguished critic, whose pen is sharper than a locust thorn, Ambrose Bierce, took issue with Millard's judgment. He prophesied for Mr. Markham, as he has done before, an "eventual primacy among contemporary American poets," and recognized the "noble simplicity and elevation of his work" in general; but urged several objections to this particular poem, chiefly because of "the sentiment of the piece, the thought that the work carries." To the sense of Mr. Bierce this is but an echo of

"the peasant philosophies of the workshop and the field; the thought is that of the sandlot — even to the workman threat of rising against the wicked well-to-do and taking it out of their hides." Regarding the origin of "The Man with the Hoe," Mr. Bierce had this to say:

"He is not a product of the masters, lords, and rulers in all lands; they are not, and no class of men are, responsible for him, his limitations and his woes — which are not of those that kings or laws can cause or cure. The masters, lords, and rulers are as helpless in the fell clutch of circumstance as he — which Mr. Markham would be speedily made to understand if appointed dictator. The notion that the sorrows of the humble are due to the selfishness of the great is natural, and can be made poetical, but it is silly. As a literary conception it has not the vitality of a sick fish. It will not carry a poem of whatever excellence otherwise through two generations. That a man of Mr. Markham's splendid endowments should be chained to the body of this literary death is no less than a public calamity. If he could forget now, what the whole world will have forgotten a little later, that such a person as William Morris existed, it would greatly advantage him and prove the excellence of his memory."

At once, following this beginning of controversy, the critics began to arise, right and left, making what Mr. Loomis characterized in "The Land of Sunshine" as "an audible noise." The newspapers received hundreds of manuscripts, and for a time accorded as much space to "The Man with the Hoe" as to prize fights and "police stories." The clergy made the poem their text; platform orators dilated upon it; college professors lectured upon it; debating societies discussed it; schools took it up for study in their literary courses; and it was the subject of conversation in social circles and on the streets. It was extolled, ridiculed, jested at, cartooned, assailed, anathematized, defended; and there is not yet an end. X

A curious episode in the controversy was the entire misapprehension of the spirit and purport of the poem, by some of the working people; that is, if some writers were not con-

cealing their true sentiments under a masque. One, for instance, regarded the poem as a direct assault on the American farmer, and assured Mr. Markham that "agriculture is a peaceful, ennobling, and independent calling."

Some came to the defense of the poem, and made good points for its doctrine, by a facetious assumption of character and idea. One who announced that he was himself "The Man with the Hoe" declared it to be "not his fault that he had no steam plow." The steam plows were all in the hands of the men who held two hundred thousand or more acres of land; and yet, he added, "nature has given to every man two hundred thousand acres of land. Some of it is in the moon, some of it on other planets, but the circumstance that we cannot get at it is not the fault of the rulers, landlords, and masters. Why should I blame the millionaire when he merely follows his instinct and aids nature in her great evolutionary work—the production of millionaires instead of men? Let him stand on my neck."

The poem has not been spared at the hands of those grotesque critics whose humor is chopped out with a meat axe. A writer on the staff of the San Francisco Evening Post pronounced it "driveling nonsense, written in a futile effort to find out who made the 'thing that grieves not and never hopes,'" and recommended to Mr. Markham, as fit material for his poetic attempts, "the statistics of the Chamber of Commerce, and the facts concerning the export and import trade of the city." "Surely," he says, "our laureate of the clod and hoe may not disdain to ask his withered muse for inspiration to write a poem paraphrasing the shipping news and idealizing the fiscal statements of the collector of the port." The editor of the San Francisco Wave found the Markham idea a subject for contempt:

"It strikes us as the veriest twaddle. The burden of Mr. Markham's lay is, that the man with the hoe has been brutalized by his superiors. His brow is low, his face without intelligence, his whole make up, mental and physical, a libel on man as Mr. Markham thinks he should be. Mr. Mark-

ham's ideal man with a hoe should be a person with a four-story forehead and the front of a leading actor in a genteel comedy company. Being a genuine poet, Mr. Markham entirely overlooks the important fact that if some portion of the human race was not horny fisted and beetle browed, few of the fields would be plowed or reaped, and railroad building, hod carrying, sewer digging, and other kindred callings would become lost arts. When humanity is invested with very high foreheads and razor edged intellects sharpened by a college course, it opens doctors' or stockbrokers' offices, or practises law. It carefully avoids hoes, spades, and pick axes. It is plain, therefore, that if the world were run on Mr. Markham's plan he would never have written his famous poem, for there being no man willing to use a hoe, the inspiration of his great effusion would have been lost. All of which tends to show that writing poetry is one thing, and thinking common sense is quite another."

The philosophy of the poem has been more seriously and intelligently dealt with by the president of Stanford University, David Starr Jordan, who has used it as the theme of a lecture delivered in many places throughout the Coast. He acknowledges the existence of "The Man with the Hoe," something like him being found in all lands, but chiefly in France where we should be content to let him remain. But as to responsibility for him, the lords and masters may claim a partial alibi. His slant brow and brute jaw only mark the primitive character. Labor in itself is not the cause of his condition; but he suffers from the fact that he labors for others instead of for himself. He is chained to the wheel of toil, and that degrades. He is crushed under the burdens of excessive taxes, and militarism, and the aggressions of aristocracy and intolerance. In Europe his status is due conspicuously to the degenerating processes of the Latin races. His hope is not in the whirlwinds of rebellion. Regeneration must come from peace, from tolerance, from justice, and from a chance to labor, not for the nation, but for himself. Men straighten up for self, and for self alone.

In one of his lectures, President Jordan affirmed that the real and radical reason for the slanted brow of "the man

with the hoe," and his brute jaw, is that his "father and mother had them,"—an explanation which had already been advanced by an earlier critic in a fable:

"Said the chicken to the eggshell from which it had just emerged, "Why didn't you give me a nice, long tail and four legs like the horse over there?" "Blame my mother for that," replied the egg, "she laid out the plan of your existence."

In an article written from the standpoint of a theosophist, Dr. Jerome A. Anderson has attempted to correct Mr. Markham's philosophy, by asserting that the poem "is built upon entirely wrong conceptions of human life"; that it is "an example of the curiously perverted views prevailing in this era of ignorance"; that it is "founded on the theological assumption that man is not the fashioner of his own destiny"; that it smacks of "grace" and "vicarious atonement" which engender "the exceedingly vicious habit of blaming misdeeds upon somebody other than the true author"; that the hoe man is "a product of the law of cause and effect"; that he has already existed through many incarnations, and his condition is due to "individual causes set in action by the individual in previous lives." This, of course, relieves the "masters, lords, and rulers," from responsibility. The hoe man is not their handiwork, but a thing of his own fashioning.

Mr. Markham has been censured for that he denounces the "immemorial infamies" and "perfidious wrongs" from which the hoe man has suffered, without suggesting the remedy—the same mistake, albeit, as some one has pointed out, that Thomas Hood made in writing "The Song of the Shirt." Mr. Markham does indeed leave it to others to answer his question, "How will you ever straighten up this shape?" The answers volunteered in the discussion have been diversified from the recommendation to "let things drift" to a demand for the radical reconstruction of society. On the one hand it is held that there is nothing to do, because the "slave of the wheel of toil" is providentially and wisely destined to his task,

a foreordination of God, calling for general gratitude; as one writer, an alleged "poetess," puts it, the "man with the hoe" is:

The man the Lord made and gave;
For which we should most thankful be—
That we have tillers of the soil—
Tillers giving us our prosperity.

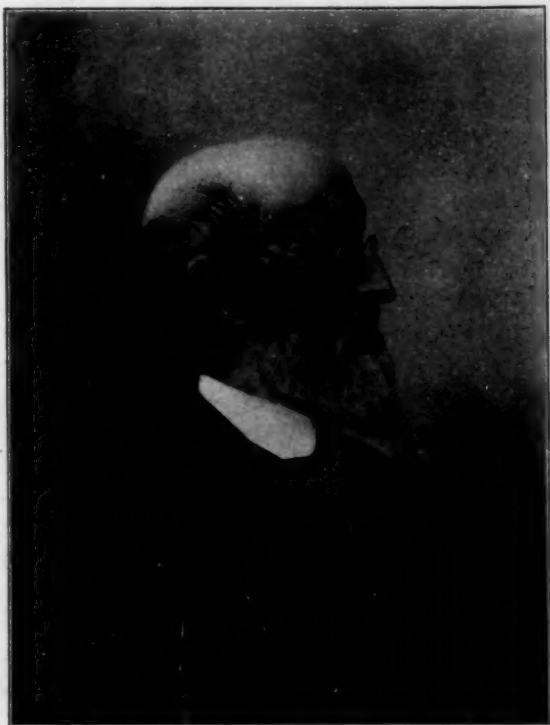
On the other hand it is proposed to organize "a universal trust embracing all the means of production and distribution, and including in the combine labor as well as capital, while as the beneficiaries of such trust are included all the people—a trust of the people, for the people, and by the people. The followers of Henry George have not missed their opportunity. Joseph Leggett, one of their foremost leaders on the Coast says: "Single taxers have no difficulty in answering the question, Who made the man with the hoe? To them it is rank blasphemy to say that God made him. It is absolutely impossible to conceive of the existence of such a creature under conditions that secured to all men the right of access to the land which God made and gave up to the children of men. No man with the hoe could be found among the Indians who occupied this continent before the white man came. Low in the scale of being as were the aborigines of Australia, there was no man with the hoe among them. That dread shape came in with the landlord. In the Golden Age of English labor, of which Prof. Thorold Rogers tells us, there was no man with the hoe in England. He appeared on the scene contemporaneously with the English landlord, and he will remain there until the landlord is eliminated. The man with the hoe came into existence in this country contemporaneously with the giving out of our supply of government land, and he will stay with us until the adoption of the single tax secures to every child of man within our borders the right to the use of the earth." Another "single taxer" says: "The man wants his own land to hoe, and that will end most of the woe; that will put light in his eye and uplift him and his jaw, and give him a stiff upper lip. He is in no particular need of theology, religion, free silver, or rag money."

The value of this discussion lies in that it illustrates the loose but intricate tangle of modern thought as touching the conditions, the possibilities, the obligations of civilization; and how tradition, self-interest, prejudice, and passion, as well as sincerity, good-will, and the love of truth and justice are all potent factors in determining the variant opinions and irreconcilable purposes of men. We are far from any such consensus of opinion as might enable us to effect wise and speedy readjustments looking to improved conditions for the masses of men. It will probably be a long time yet, before we shall be able to unite all the energies of society in a general committal to any adequate movement for progress and reform. The voices of men are discordant, their motives at variance, their aims contradictory. The worst of it is, that the majority seem still to be skeptical of any great possibilities for human society. To any voice crying aloud in behalf of the primary rectitudes as between man and man, the multitude is still disposed to respond, "Crucify him!" This seems to prove that the hoe man is not the only man of whom it may be said that the light has been extinguished within his brain. We have all been brutalized under this régime of interior and ever intensifying competition. We cling to and defend the traditional business and social procedures, despite their radical iniquities. Only the few appear to see that these iniquities are anything more than incidental—mere infelicities of a system which, on the whole, is regarded as good enough, if indeed it be not exalted to the plane of divine beneficence. This general lack of moral insight into the essential meanness and degradation of our system is the dark fact of our times, the hopelessness of humanity. It makes room within us for a sometimes flippant and sometimes sullen skepticism as to the plain simplicities of social truth and righteousness. We need, more often than we hear it, the clear voice of the bard and the prophet **challenging** our indifference and unbelief. There should be many Markhams.

EDWARD B. PAYNE.

San Francisco.

AMERICAN EDUCATION IN THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE.



CYRUS HAMLIN, LL.D.,
Founder of Robert College.

IN the first decade of the Ottoman Empire during the present century, Sultan Selim III. attempted to make needed reforms, but lost his life by an insurrection of the Janissaries. In the second decade, the young Sultan Mahmoud would have carried out the reforms of Selim III.,

but the successful revolt of Mehmet Ali of Egypt, and the turbulence of the Janissaries, embarrassed him. During the third decade, 1820 to 1830, events occurred which shook the old empire to its foundations. The destruction of the Janissaries; the Greek revolution; the destruction of the great Turkish fleet at Navarino; the rebuilding of a better fleet by the American naval architects, Eckford and Rhodes; the establishment of naval and military academies; the reform of the army under foreign officers—the great Moltke in his youth, for one; and a disastrous war with Russia, were among the stirring events of this decade. In the fourth decade, 1830 to 1840, occurred the introduction of the new, or Western, education into the sleepy old empire, then just beginning to wake up. In 1831, Messrs. Goodell, Dwight, and Schauffler were established as missionaries of the American Board at Constantinople. The first work was, of necessity, that of education. Some astonishing facts became apparent. The ancient, or classic languages, not the spoken, were used in all the schools, whether Moslem or Christian. There were very few books in the hands of either scholars or teacher. Instead, large cards were hung upon the walls, and the whole school was trained upon those cards. The bastinado was in use in every public school. The missionaries at once introduced the spoken languages. As soon as possible, attractive school-books were prepared, in different languages. School furniture was introduced—in place of sitting on the floor. For a few years, the new system spread, and carried all before it. The Turkish government looked upon it with favor. Dr. Dwight established a seminary, or normal school, one direct object of which was to prepare competent school-teachers for the reformed education. In 1837, there came a sudden change, more decidedly from the Armenian clergy. The foreign schools were deemed dangerous; and finally were denounced and anathematized. It is now known that Nicholas, the Czar of Russia, instigated this. The Catholics of Etchmiadzin, the highest dignitary of the Armenian Church, dwells on Russian soil, and is always subject to the

Czar. The seminary and the schools were closed. Some Armenian teachers, known to be decidedly evangelical, were sent into exile. The missionary work for a time lay low.

In 1840, I was successful in opening a seminary in Bebek, on the Bosphorus, where it continued, in spite of persecutions, for twenty years. In the fourth and fifth decades, there was a great diffusion of education by schools and high schools, in all the chief cities. The Crimean War (1853-56), contributed to greater freedom of action; and the press became a powerful agent in diffusing knowledge. Institutions in competition were established, to put down the missionary schools; but they had to copy a great deal from the institutions they antagonized; and they helped forward the work they wished to destroy. Near the close of this period, the chief secretary of the American Board, the Rev. Rufus Anderson, D.D., LL.D., chose to change the curriculum of the high schools and seminaries of the Board to a "vernacular" basis; excluding linguistic studies and science, and making them directly and solely for bible students and biblical preachers. After long and friendly discussion, I declined that service, and formed an understanding with Christopher R. Robert, of New York, to establish a college on the Bosphorus, which should carry out the American idea of education. The incidents which led to the founding of Robert College are in themselves interesting. About the year 1844-45, the persecution of the Protestant Armenians changed its character. Violence was mainly abandoned, boycotting substituted. Every man known as an *avederanagan* was deprived of his business or trade. Poverty and distress ensued. This was soon felt in the seminary; for the students had to provide their own clothing and other incidental expenses. Their parents could no longer do anything for them; and they began to be ragged. They tried mending up, as no school ever did before. In the course of two years, this state of things became ridiculous and impossible of continuance. I resolved to open a workshop and have

the boys clothe themselves by their own labor.* The scheme was wonderfully successful, and I introduced many industries to provide work for the persecuted who were then out of employment. They were starving — give them work instead of money. As a foreigner I was not under the laws of the guilds. I opened many industries; but the most successful was a flour mill and bakery. The bread was excellent and in good demand. Mr. Charles Ede, who provided the capital, was fully repaid. When the Crimean war broke out, the British hospital camp wanted this American bread. Lord Raglan declared that better bread was never made. Our works were enlarged to furnish eight and one-half tons per day. At the close of the war, Christopher R. Robert was traveling in the East and accidentally saw a boat close to the shore, filled with this beautiful bread. He was surprised and indignant to learn that a missionary was the responsible maker, and visited him to investigate. When he found it was all to furnish work for the persecuted, his feelings changed. Then and there began the acquaintance that resulted in Robert College. He often said that the college was founded on that boat load of bread, as it was the means of his acquaintance with me.

After many failures, a noble site was purchased, on the most conspicuous and historic spot on the Bosphorus, with the condition that the money should be paid out when the Grand Vizier should give permission for the building. This was given. I paid about eight thousand dollars for the site; and began, with a good force of workmen, to dig for the foundations. After a few days of joyful work, believing that all opposition and unfriendly plots had been countervailed, two dashing police officers in palace livery appeared and said, "This work must cease for the present." "For what reason?" "Certain formalities are to be gone through with." "What formalities?" "We do not know." "How long must I wait?" "Perhaps two or three weeks." In point of fact, it was seven years. I was alarmed at this sudden change; the more so, as I believed that the Grand

* See "My Life and Times," p. 281.

Vizier himself was friendly to the college scheme. The opposition originated with the Abbé Boré, a distinguished Jesuit, believed to be the chief guide and inspirer of all the Roman Catholic missions in the East. He was a man of fine presence, master of all the Oriental languages, and was believed to have the confidence and patronage of Louis Napoleon. He incited the old Moslem party against the American college; and Louis Napoleon instructed his ambassador to take counsel with the learned Jesuit. The Russian ambassador needed no invitation to join them in making such a representation to the Porte as secured the immediate revoking of the permit. And further, they exacted from the Grand Vizier a promise that the proposed college should never be built. Our secretary of legation, Mr. I. P. Brown, was unsurpassed in getting at bottom facts in the diplomacy of the Sublime Porte. As America had no political ambitions, nor any complications with Oriental questions, he had a great advantage over all diplomats of his class.

The situation was generally regarded as hopeless, for two reasons—the mighty strength of the enemy, and the fact that the American minister resident refused to take any action in the case. He was sent there to protect American commerce—not to build colleges! The college president without a college was advised to quietly fold his tent and silently disappear.

But he saw a chance to turn the flank of the great Jesuit commander and his mighty allies. The principle of *adet* (prescriptive right) is a very sacred one in Turkish administration. As often as I have asked for a definition, it has been given substantially thus: "If any one has been allowed to do a thing long enough to be known to his neighbors and the local officers, and no opposition has been made, after that the Sultan's firman cannot touch him."

I had been twenty years in that building in Bebek, with a seminary. I will now, said I, open Robert College there, without asking leave, or saying anything to the government about it. I did so. I repaired the building, having made an

arrangement with the Board that owned it, and having made, without the least concealment, every arrangement; and having sent out the program in seven languages — Armenian, Greek, Bulgarian, French, English, Italian, and German — I opened the college with a few students in November, 1863. It was considered somewhat perilous because all the Powers were against it, and no voice that could make itself heard was lifted up for it.

The Abbé Boré was, of course, excited. When he found that the seminary, whose doors he hoped were closed forever, was re-opened as Robert College, he hastened to the Grand Vizier, and the interview was privately reported to Mr. Brown, substantially as follows. "Why, surely, Your Highness, that American, Hamlin, who wanted to establish a college at Roumeli Nissar, and sought your authority. . . ." "He sought leave to put up a building at Roumeli Nissar — which I interdicted. Is he erecting that building?" "No, Your Highness, but much worse than that. He has actually opened the college in Bebek!" "Very well, Your Reverence. He has had a college there for more than twenty years, and he will have it there for twenty more, if he commits no crime!" "But, Your Highness, that was an inferior institution, called a seminary. Now it is a college and may become a university and a propagandist institution, bad for you, and bad for us!" The Grand Vizier's patience was exhausted, and he replied with some emphasis, "School! Seminary! College! University! what care we what names the Ghiours give to their institutions? They are all one to us. Does Your Reverence think we are going back on our sacred principle of *adet* to please Your Reverence? Be sure we are not!" And so the Abbé had to retire, a humbler and wiser man.

And so Robert College gained a standing place in the presence of its enemies. From this secure position, the battle for the right to build could be safely fought, and the college organized and developed. For this, the position was most favorable. Slowly the public came to estimate and like the new

institution. It gradually filled up from most of the nationalities there resident. Armenians, Greeks, and Bulgarians were chief in number; but we had from one to five of English, American, German, Italian, Jewish, Persian, Dutch, Swiss, Danish, and Turkish. It was an evangelical Christian college, like Amherst — wholly in the English language, for which, in addition, there was a fitting department. We anticipated some trouble from the conflict of races. We found very little. They were all one — in English. As a Christian college, it acknowledged the bible as the word of God, and religious instruction was to be given from that book, but no sectarianism was to enter into it. This principle worked admirably. During the seven years we were confined to quarters that would allow us to receive only seventy students, the curriculum of study and of discipline was thoroughly tried. It has not been materially changed during thirty-six years of experience; while it has now two hundred and fifty students. In its confined quarters, it became fully self-supporting, and, before I left, had a balance of six hundred dollars in the treasury. The Abbé Boré tried every means that an able and skilful Jesuit could invent to injure us. But it reacted against him, and he utterly failed of getting up an institution to counteract and overwhelm us. We had, every year, from twenty-five to thirty applications more than we could possibly receive. This was a triumphant answer to those who had denied the need of a college, and to those who predicted that it would be possible to have a faculty, but no native students!

The president had now another and more difficult duty — to compel the Turkish government to do what justice plainly demanded. The "great English ambassador" had been recalled at the beck of Louis Napoleon, who proposed to reconstruct Eastern affairs in harmony with Russia. When Sir Henry Bulwer came in his place, I laid the college question before him. He said it was in accord with English policy, and that he would watch for diplomatic opportunities to secure my evident right. I knew that his moral character

was not high in any scale—Turkish, Jewish, or Christian, and that he was the author of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, as to which he had boasted that Clayton himself did not understand what he signed.

After about six months, he sent me a note to say that the Grand Vizier had yielded on the college question, and in a few days he would send me the permit. Instead, in a few days, I received another note from Sir Henry, insolent in the extreme, saying that I had made an unwise move to purchase a site where I should have known that the Turks would never let me build; and the penalty of such indiscretion should fall upon my own head. I soon found what had occurred. Sir Henry Bulwer had received a heavy bribe from the Pasha of Egypt, to do some work for him at the Sublime Porte; but to do that successfully, Sir Henry must abandon three things, one of which was the American college question. I made no reply to such a contemptible letter; and I had the satisfaction of knowing that his unusual skill had failed him. The fact of the bribe became known to the government in London, and he was recalled in disgrace. He never held any office after that, but published some books in which he glorified himself.

It would be wearisome to narrate the five other episodes from which much was hoped for, and nothing gained. The Grand Vizier should be excused for once exclaiming, "Will this Mr. Hamlin never die, and let me alone in this college question?" It was considered that somebody might give me a cup of coffee—which often shortens a man's life in Turkey—and I was earnestly advised not to go into any coffee shop in Stamboul or on the Bosphorus.

In 1868, Admiral Farragut came to Constantinople—the man of whom it was said "he fought a great battle, lashed to his mast, where all could see him, and three thousand riflemen had fired at him and couldn't hit him!" and so on. Stamboul was all agog to see him.

We occasionally find that a boy has an unconscious part in a great event. My little son Alfred, by his irrepressible

desire to see the great admiral, compelled me to go with him to call upon the great man. We found Admiral Farragut alone. He asked at once whether I was a resident or a traveler. I began to tell him of my difficulty with the Turkish government about building a college. He interrupted me, saying he was sorry the Turkish government should be so unjust, but added, "I have no diplomatic mission here, whatever. I can do nothing for you." And to turn the subject, he said, "What lad is this? Is he your son?" Putting his hand on his shoulder, he asked, "Well, my son, what are you going to do in the world? What are you going to be?" "I don't know," replied the boy. "I wouldn't mind being Admiral of the American navy!" The old Admiral laughed, and patting him on the head, said, "There might be many things better than that! But, if you are going to be Admiral of the American navy—" Just then, to my chagrin, his words were cut off by the sudden entrance of Dr. Seropyan (an Armenian physician of distinction, educated in America, and known to the Admiral) with his hand extended. "Good morning, Admiral Farragut! I am glad to see you here with Mr. Hamlin. You have come just in the nick of time to get him leave to build his college"—and he began to pour out his admiration of the plan.

The Admiral stopped him by saying, "I have just told Mr. Hamlin that I have no diplomatic mission here, and I can do nothing for him." "Just for that reason," rejoined the doctor, "you can do everything. You are to dine, this evening, with the Grand Vizier; just ask him why that American college cannot be built? And, when you dine with the other great pashas of the Sultan's court, make the same inquiry of each." The jolly Admiral laughed at the idea, but said, "I'll do it; for anybody may ask the king a decent question!" Visitors came crowding in, and our interview was cut short. That he faithfully asked the question, we inferred from the fact that secretaries of the Sublime Porte were curious to know whether our government sent out our great Admiral "to settle that college question?" His sudden departure puzzled them.

But nothing came of it. Seven years had passed since I purchased the site, and many times our hopes had been raised only to be cast down. I saw nothing further to do until something new should turn up; and for about three months, gave myself wholly to the college extant.

I was still trying to "let patience have her perfect work," when, one afternoon, about an hour before sunset, the American minister's messenger boy, Antoine, came into my study with a letter. I knew it must be something of importance, or Mr. Morris would not have sent a messenger six miles with it.

"I congratulate you, Mr. Hamlin," he wrote, "on the termination of your long contest with the Turkish government. I have just received a note from His Highness, the Grand Vizier, saying, 'Tell Mr. Hamlin he may begin building his college when he pleases. Nobody will interfere with him; and in a few days, he shall have the Imperial Iradé.'"

This seemed all too great and good to be true. It must be a hoax. For the Imperial Iradé is the "Imperial Volition," coming directly from the inspired breast of the Caliph, the successor of the Prophet. I went directly to Mr. Morris's office.

"I don't wonder you think it a hoax," he said, "but it cannot be. There is the Grand Vizier's note." The whole note was in his unmistakable handwriting, signed by his name Aali, with the seal of the Grand Vizerati affixed. The world did not credit the report; but the Iradé was given, placing the college under the protection of the United States, thus making it an American institution. It immediately raised the American flag; and does so still on fête days. It is the first institution of the kind which the Turks have allowed in any prominent place on the Bosphorus. No one could explain the mystery of such great generosity—why the Ottoman government should give so much more than we had asked; and moreover, why the great opponents were all silent, or treated it as a trifle not worthy of notice.

The college was then built in the most substantial manner. The stone was taken from the same quarries that Mehmet II.

used in 1452-53. Time does not affect it. The iron came from Scotland and Belgium, the tubular bricks and cement from France. The Grand Vizier showed his friendliness by ordering that all the materials should pass free of the custom house, which was a great boon. When the building was externally finished, he sent for me to call upon him at his palace, to congratulate me on having erected a building which was "*the ornament of the Bosphorus.*"

Robert College was occupied May 18, 1871, but was not publicly opened until July 4, of that year, when our great ex-Secretary Seward passed that way, and performed the ceremony with great éclat. The college faculty thanked him warmly for his supposed mysterious and wonderful influence. Some said, "Louis Napoleon has had enough of Seward in Mexico, and was not disposed to quarrel with him on the Bosphorus." The college filled up immediately. A short time after Seward left, our mystery was explained.

A Turkish gentleman called to see the college. After a long and particular examination, he apologized, saying, "I think more highly of English education than of any other. I have some little grandsons whom I intend to send to this college." I invited him to the college tower, to look upon the Asiatic shore. I saw that he was one of the Sultan's cabinet, visiting the college incognito. He fell into raptures over the scenery. As he turned to go down, he said, "Oh, Mr. Hamlin, if it had not been for that insurrection, we would never have given you leave to build on this magnificent site!" When I assured him that I could not understand him, he added, "When the Cretan insurrection was at its worst, endangering our relations to Greece, and consequently to Russia, your great Admiral Farragut came here. The Greeks gathered around him, and expected that he would go and deliver the refugees on the coast, and carry them to Greece. We did not like this. But, still worse, they reported that he had promised to sell them one of those monitors. But we treated your great admiral with unexampled honor. The Grand Vizier made him a most magnificent

dinner. Seventy-two guests, the great men of our Empire and of the chief embassies, were at table. You know that into such a dinner no diplomatic question can be intruded, even to your neighbor! But, in the midst of this dinner, the Admiral said to the Grand Vizier, 'Your Highness, I would like to ask Your Highness a question?' 'Very well, Admiral.' 'I would like to ask Your Highness why that American college can't be built?' The whole table shuddered. Here was a diplomatic question thrown suddenly upon the table, contrary to all etiquette! But our Vizier is never thrown off his balance; and he answered, with his usual suavity, 'It is true, Admiral, there have been some difficulties about that question; but they are all smoothed over, and the college may be built.'"

"The Admiral said not a word; the table resumed its *sang froid*, and the dinner closed in the highest enthusiasm. Then, other great dinners were given to him; and at each one, the same question came, but no remarks. He was careful to declare that he had no diplomatic mission; and we saw that he had just one mission — this college! But, when he went away so suddenly, we breathed easier — until those letters on the Cretan insurrection were published in the New York papers. There, we said, is the finger of the great admiral, preparing the American people for selling those *monitors* to the Greeks! Better build a hundred colleges for the Americans, than to have one of those troublesome monitors come into the Mediterranean! War would follow with Greece, and then with our great enemy. So we made haste to prevent all this. We gave you the Imperial Iradé. We placed this college under the protection of the United States, as the greatest compliment to your government and people; and so we smoothed it all over!"

There have been many splendid results from this sacred authorization of the College. The foreign embassies could say nothing, and so kept silence. It made the opening of other American colleges easy. This was the first. There are now eight American colleges, two of them (at Scutari

and Marash) for girls. Through the terrible years of slaughter, the Armenian students in Robert College were unmolested. The college building at Harpoot, on the Euphrates, was destroyed, also the academy at Marash, by the Turkish officials; and so the Sultan must and will pay the damages.

The influence of Robert College upon Bulgaria has been noticed by English and German travelers. Its graduates fill many high offices. Until recently, Ferdinand had three of them in his cabinet. In college, they were among the choicest. There are scores of noble, patriotic, educated men, in all departments of life, and of different nationalities, who have received their training in that college. The same is true of all the other American institutions.

But the great influence of these institutions is to be sought in their having become incitements and models to the other and far more numerous institutions among the Armenians, Greeks, Bulgarians, and Moslems. There are eight American colleges. All the other chief nationalities have their competing colleges. There are about forty American high schools. There are many times that number in competition. Until these American schools began, in the fourth decade (from '30 to '40), the Jesuits had done nothing for general or popular education. They soon saw a new power that they also must use, since they could not suppress it. Since then, the missionaries have opened a school in no village of the empire but it has been immediately followed by a Roman Catholic school. In a greater or less degree, other nationalities have done the same, even extending it to girls' schools.

But the greatest educational effect is seen in the Moslem schools. Abdul Hamid, on being convinced that the Christian races were far in advance of the Moslem, resolved to change all that. He has established common school education throughout Asia Minor, among the Moslems exclusively, as was never done before; while he has closed hundreds of Christian schools, and burned tons of Christian school-books. Abdul Hamid II. will be known in history as the "Great Assassin" and the "Great Educator"—the assassin of Chris-

tians, the educator of Moslems. Only grant that Islam is true and Christianity false — and his course may be defended as wise and prudent ; otherwise, it is rashness and folly.

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MODERN COLLEGE EDUCATION.*

PREJUDICE is now, as it always has been, the chief obstacle to progress. We do not examine our opinions in the light of reason to see whether they be just or true ; we follow the line of least resistance, holding to the established order of things because it is inconvenient to do otherwise. "There is nothing," says Chauncey M. Depew, "so conservative as the college. It follows last in the procession of progress ; it distrusts innovations and discredits theories. Its faculty, by the very peculiarity of their existence, learn to respect the traditions and teachings of the past." The prevailing system of higher education is almost entirely traditional. But there has been an awakening. Never before has there been so much discussion of educational questions. Radical changes are proposed for every department of instruction.

What is the true end of education ? "Culture," Plato might answer ; "not for the base ends of trade, or to make a man useful or successful, but to make him fit to commune with the gods." "That is our belief," we may suppose the representatives of the conventional college education to say, "especially as expressed in the last clause, which shows the absolute necessity for spending eight years in the study of Latin and Greek. Culture is an end in itself ; and not those studies which will best discipline the powers for their future use, but those which the wise of the past have believed to be the best for culture, must form our college curriculum. Why

*To be followed, in August, by an article on "A Rational System of College Education," by the same author.

should it be thought necessary to adapt the curriculum to the conditions of modern life? The ideal curriculum was evolved from the inner consciousness of men who have spent their lives within school and college walls. If it be true that the college training does not meet the requirements of modern life, those requirements should be so changed as to conform to the college standard. Not only must the college determine its own curriculum, but, by prescribing the requirements for admission, it must determine what shall be taught in the high school and academy, and thus indirectly control the common school system. We admit that the means should be adapted to the end; *but college education is an end in itself.*"

The true end of education is to so discipline all the powers, mental, moral, and physical, as to develop an individual of the greatest possible capacity, both as an individual and as a member of society.

How is this end to be attained? No broader or deeper question in philosophy has ever been propounded. Philosophers of all ages have regarded it as the most important of all philosophic problems. It is the fundamental question of government, religion, and laws. Upon it Plato and Aristotle, Locke and Spencer, have exhausted their powers of reasoning. That the conclusions of the modern philosophers are more worthy of acceptance, no one can doubt, who is cognizant of the change in the knowledge of the nature of things, the experience of many generations, and the advance of science. Although Spencer's philosophy in every other department has been gradually accepted, his conclusions on education have been rejected as unduly utilitarian. To base a system of education on the determination of the question, "What knowledge is of most worth?" is assumed to be entirely beneath the dignity of education; the law of the survival of the fittest must not be considered here. Spencer does not undervalue esthetic and ethical culture; he gives them a place commensurate with their worth. To Latin and Greek he assigns a "quasi-intrinsic" value. To accept Spencer's philosophy of education requires the exercise of reason with-

out prejudice. But the acceptance of a modern philosophy of education would mean a revolution, and a revolution is not agreeable to an established institution.

The advocates of the traditional education hold that knowledge is to be acquired, not on account of its worth, but for its own sake; that the best system of education is that which gives the greatest culture, and that the classics, mathematics, and formal sciences are the best for the purpose. The traditional system originated in the Middle Ages, when metaphysics differed as much from the modern science of psychology as did alchemy from chemistry—when there was no science worthy of the name. No great literary works have been • produced in any language but Latin and Greek; and these were accessible only to persons familiar with those tongues. The vulgar Saxon was not deemed a fit medium for the communication of the lettered. Harvard, the first American university, was patterned after the English. A quarter of a century after its foundation, the requirements for its admission was “to read Tully or any like classic author *ex tempore*, and make and speak true Latin in verse and prose, and decline perfectly nouns and verbs in the Greek tongue.” That it and every other university has followed the march of civilization, though at a great distance, is shown by its present requirements and the courses offered; but the watchword remains, “Follow scholastic tradition.” Notable exceptions to this traditional tendency are the recent order to discontinue the teaching of Latin and Greek in the Swedish high schools, and the introduction, by some progressive Western universities, of a modern classical course.

Nothing is more common than to claim as the result of a system that which exists in spite of it. That Smith and Jones became able men because they received a classical and mathematical training, and that Brown and White, who were educated at a country academy and became great and good men, would have been still grander men through the quadrivium, by no means follows. A division of our great men into university and non-university is a true test. Those who

graduated from a common school or academy into the great university of life, to receive that highest and best culture which comes of contact with men and things, supplemented by reading, will be found to outnumber the others tenfold. And who shall say that those who spent from three to five years in the conventional study of dead languages, mathematics, and logic—that ghost of reasoning—would not have been grander men through such a course of training as had Franklin, Lincoln, and Greeley?

It is asserted that the traditional college course, while it does not prepare directly for any position in life, so disciplines the powers as to make the ordinary college graduate broader and more successful in any position. Two young men graduate from a country academy at the age of twenty. One spends four years on a classical course before entering a law school; the other, presumed of equal natural ability, is employed successively during two years as stenographer in a railroad, a law, and a brokerage office, as special agent for an insurance company, and as correspondent for a publishing house; during all of which time he occupies his spare time in reading, and graduates from the law school as the other is ready to enter it. Which will derive the more benefit from the professional course? Which will be the broader and more successful lawyer and the more cultured man? It is said that only one newspaper office in the United States prefers the regular college graduate.

"But," says the advocate of the traditional education, "you mistake the purpose of college education. It is not the design of the college to make lawyers, business men, or physicians. The college graduate is a better man, and he will make a better lawyer, physician, or merchant than he could without a college education." We grant it. A young man whose muscles had been developed by the practice of pounding the earth for four hours daily during four years would undoubtedly make a better blacksmith than he could make without that training. A system of training may be beneficial and at the same time narrow and ill adapted to serve the purpose for which it is designed.

"Deciding whether a classical or mathematical education is the best, is," says Herbert Spencer, "much the same as deciding whether bread is more nutritive than potatoes."

The study of the classics, exercises little more than the verbal memory. That the study of Latin and Greek is the best means of acquiring a good English style is a pure assumption. A knowledge of Anglo-Saxon is of more value for this end than a knowledge of Latin. Notwithstanding the attempts of grammarians to Latinize our grammar, English remains an uninflected, almost grammarless tongue, to be acquired more by use than by rule. A knowledge of original meaning is not a safe guide to present use; the history of a word and its present import are of more value than its original signification. Common observation, as well as literary history, shows that there is little relation between ability to write "English pure and undefiled" and knowledge of the classics. "Every language," says Macaulay, "throws light on every other. We acknowledge, too, that the great body of our countrymen learn to grammatize their English by means of their Latin. This, however, proves, not the usefulness of their Latin, but the folly of their instructors. A man who thinks a knowledge of Latin essential to the purity of English diction, either has never conversed with an accomplished woman, or does not deserve to have done so. The orators who are the fondest of quoting Latin are by no means the most scrupulous about marring their native tongue." If a tenth of the time spent on Latin were devoted to etymology, literature, and practical rhetoric, the result would be more satisfactory.

The claim that the study of Latin and Greek introduces the student to the world's greatest wealth of literature scarcely needs refutation. Not more than five per cent. of those who translate from Horace and Homer have the time or inclination to do more than, by the help of lexicon and paradigm, to render a *passable* translation; and of that five, not one per cent. would, five years after graduation, choose to read the original in preference to a translation. Not only because there are in English better translations of classics

than the ordinary student could, at great loss of time and energy, make for himself, but because our own language contains a greater literature than the ancient classics, is it unnecessary to devote much time and energy to Greek and Latin. It cannot be denied that much benefit may be derived from a study of Latin and Greek; but that is true of alchemy and astrology. "No person doubts," says Macaulay, "that much knowledge can be obtained from the classics. It is equally certain that much gold may be found in Spain. But it by no means follows that it is wise to work the Spanish mines or to learn the ancient languages." "Mere classical reading," says Dr. Whewell, "is a narrow and enfeebling education." "A boy," says Spencer, "in nine cases out of ten, applies his Latin and Greek to no practical purpose. In his shop and office, in managing his estate or family, in playing his part as a director of a bank or railway, he is very little aided by the knowledge he spent so many years to acquire. If we enquire what is the real motive for giving boys a classical education, we find it to be *simply conformity to public opinion.*"

It is asserted that English grammar can be thoroughly understood only through the study of a complete and systematic grammar like the Latin; and that, since "grammar is the science of language and the art of speaking and writing correctly," a knowledge of Latin grammar is very important. Grammarians have endeavored to make the English language conform to the rules of Latin grammar, but they have not thereby changed the process of learning the art of speaking and writing correctly—careful practise and systematic, critical study of the best models. A liberal curriculum should, no doubt, include a general course in the elements of the Greek and Latin languages, but that should be with reference mainly to etymology and philology. Such a course necessarily forms part of a complete study of etymology. The study of Greek has of late years declined rapidly. Yet as a model language, Greek is vastly superior to Latin. The lack of the article and of a distinction between the preterite

and the aorist tenses are serious faults in the latter. In everything, except perhaps precision, the English language is superior to any other; and in literature it is the richest of all. If any further argument be needed, there is the fact — apparently of slight importance — that English is the language we use through life; that it is fast becoming the language of the world; and that its resources are such that the devotion of a lifetime is necessary for its mastery.

The study of the higher mathematics is undoubtedly an excellent training in deductive reasoning, and they have a practical application to the arts and sciences. Every system of education gives to the mind a peculiar bent and capacity. A moderate share of mathematical study is highly beneficial, developing a habit of close and systematic reasoning; but exclusive devotion develops a habit of mind unsuited to the conditions of life. In mathematics the axioms, data, and premises are given, and the conclusion is reached by an unerring course of intuitive reasoning. "A man," says Macaulay, "who understands the nature of mathematical reasoning, the closest of all kinds of reasoning, is likely to reason better than another on points not mathematical, as a man who can dance, generally can walk better than a man who cannot. But no people walk so ill as dancing masters, and no people reason so ill as mere mathematicians. They are accustomed to look for only one species of evidence; a species of evidence of which the transactions of life do not admit. When they come from certainties to probabilities, from a syllogism to a witness, their superiority is at an end. They resemble a man who, never having seen an object which was not either black or white, should be required to distinguish between two near shades of gray. Hence, on questions of religion, policy, or common life, we perpetually see these boasted demonstrators either extravagantly credulous or extravagantly skeptical. "None of our intellectual studies," says Sir William Hamilton, "tends to cultivate a smaller number of faculties, in a more partial or feeble manner, than mathematics!" An overdose of mathematics is worse than none.

Dugald Stewart says : "While mathematical studies exercise the faculty of reasoning, they give no employment to the other powers of the understanding concerned in the investigation of truth. On the contrary, they are apt to produce a facility in the admission of data. . . . I think I have observed a peculiar proneness in mathematicians to avail themselves of the principles sanctioned by some imposing names, and to avoid all discussion which might tend to an examination of ultimate truths, or involve a rigorous analysis of their ideas. . . . In the course of my own experience I have not met with a single mathematician who was not credulous to a fault."

As a mental discipline and as a means of storing the mind with useful information, the study of science is open to none of the objections advanced against mathematics and ancient languages. The method of discovering truth acquired from such study is applicable to all situations in life. It is unfortunate, however, that so much time is wasted in memorizing formulæ, tables, numbers, names, and classifications. No memory can retain beyond the examination or recitation room such unnecessary lumber. The non-professional student never needs them; the professional needs only to know how to use them and where to find them when he wants them. Of the principles of science and the method of scientific investigation we cannot well have too much; but time is limited, and much valuable time may be wasted in memorizing magnitudes, numbers, and formulæ.

The average conventional college student thinks that his education will be completed at graduation. He vainly imagines himself superior to everyone who has not passed through a course similar to his. But he surely deceives himself. "It is well known," says Dr. E. L. Youmans, "that in numberless cases, where the student has surrendered himself to college influences and conquered his curriculum, exactly in proportion to his fidelity has been his defeat. He has mastered a disqualifying culture. In hundreds of instances we have listened to expression of bitter regret on the part of

college graduates at the misdirected studies and the misapplied time which their 'liberal' education has involved." One of the greatest living masters of English has defined a conventional college as "a place where pearls are polished and diamonds dulled."

"A Graduate," writing to the New York World, says: "I went to two colleges. I was graduated from one of them. I owe neither of them anything. Such education as I have, I acquired myself. I have written for all the great magazines. I am an editorial writer on one of the greatest newspapers in the world. The 'philosophy' taught me was a deadly drawback to me. I know more than a hundred bachelors of arts who cannot do capably any part of the world's work. No college is best. No college is even good; and none ever will be till somebody founds one in which to educate boys in modern ways of thinking."

That education is not only desirable, but absolutely necessary in a highly developed civilization, no intelligent person denies. That the traditional college curriculum needs to be modernized is evident. Culture is a leisurely process; it is not to be acquired by any system which directs the energies mainly to the exercise of the verbal memory. Technical, linguistic, scientific, and mathematical training have their place—a place which should be filled by the institution of technology and the university proper. The greatest thing a college can do is to cultivate the habit of self culture, to teach the science and art of self education, to cultivate a predilection for self culture. The conventional system is not calculated to do this. The young man who "pulls through" and is allowed the honor of graduation, regards his education as finished instead of merely begun. "The curious part of it is," says President Coulter, of Lake Forest University, "that one may study for a few years and obtain a college degree, provided he studies in a certain prescribed way; but he may study all his life in some other way, and be infinitely superior in attainment to the neophyte of a few years, superior in everything that enters into intellectual living, and yet it is impossible for him to get a degree." It is curious, too, that

the value of a degree is assumed to be measured by the difficulty of obtaining it.

A college should aim to begin, not complete, education. The student should acquire habits of careful, thoughtful study; there should be no mere grinding, no gleaning of the husks of knowledge requisite to pass the conventional recitation and examination room. The development of thought power should be the prime object. The student should be led to "read, not to contradict and confute, nor to believe and take for granted, but to weigh and consider." A rational education gives intellectual liberty.

The following table is designed to show the relative value of subjects in the higher curriculum. The numbers assigned are, of course, roughly estimated. The utility of any branch varies. To a teacher of Latin, that branch would be first in utility. Specialization is not here considered. The values of any subject depend much on the teaching. Some teachers make history a memory rather than an ethical and wisdom study. Law can be made of greater ethical value than ethics. The study of ancient literature, as such, would have the same values as English literature.

SUBJECT.	Esthetic (4)	Ethical (4)	Memory (4)	Reason (3)	Invention (2)	Utility (2)	Wisdom (1)	Average
Law	10	60	50	90	70	90	90	46
Debating	20	60	50	80	90	85	80	43
Rhetoric	25	15	15	55	80	85	40	30
History	20	60	50	50	15	60	70	30
Physical Science, Var.	10	15	30	60	35	70	40	29
Elocution	50	25	20	50	15	75	40	26
Sociology	25	50	5	30	20	60	60	26
Political Economy	10	25	15	90	25	50	50	25
English Literature	50	25	20	25	20	50	20	19
Ethics	20	90	5	90	15	10	50	19
Higher Mathematics, Var.	5	15	20	90	35	20	5	18
English Language	5	5	30	20	5	80	5	13
Classics	20	5	80	25	20	20	5	12

The values assigned are estimated on a scale of one hundred, presuming ordinary capacity. The numbers in each column are divided by the figure in parenthesis at the head of that column. Adding laterally, and multiplying by three to offset the division, we get the averages in the last column.

Memory is one of the most valuable of the mental powers; but it is not susceptible to cultivation during childhood. It is important to consider that the memory is not a single mental capacity, but that there is one memory for form, another for names, another for music, and so forth. The power of recollection depends largely on understanding. As the mind develops, the power of making logical associations increases, and the necessity for memorizing by rote decreases. In proportion as the attention is occupied with arbitrary details will the normal development of the reason and judgment be retarded. Persons remarkable for verbal memory are rarely distinguished by general ability, and those who are superior in other respects are often weak in memory. A system of higher education based largely on memory exercise may be not merely defective, but injurious.

What is the necessary conclusion? That the conventional college curriculum should be entirely revised—not next decade, but now.

THOMAS J. ALLEN.

Aurora, Ill.

WHERE PEACE DOTH DWELL.

Peace sits eternal on the mountain tops
And looking outward, sees the world grow old.
She knows nor time nor age; forever young,
Calm eyed, she sees the ceaseless ages fold
The world's poor years within their cold embrace.
Sorrow, and joy, and happiness, and woe
To her are not: Above the world of men
She sits at rest to watch the ages grow.

HARRY DOUGLAS ROBINS.

ART IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

THE advocate of art in the public schools has been forced to combat two classes of opponents, one positive, the other negative.

The first class regard art as a useless accomplishment, designed for, and to be fostered by, the wealthy. It deprecates the expenditure of any money upon the poor for their culture in this direction. And, strange to say, this sentiment prevails to a much larger degree, proportionately, among the poor than among the rich. The second class believes that none but the talented can learn, and considers money and time spent upon the ordinary mind as absolutely wasted. This negative opposition is harder to overcome than the open arguments of out and out combatants. It pervades all classes, and every teacher of experience has heard even the pupils who are paying him for their instruction exclaim, "I can never learn—I have no talent." All through the schools in every grade, we are accustomed to the apathy, the antagonistic indifference that suddenly falls upon the class-room like a mist, when the drawing period approaches. Many times the teacher, who is only working for the salary, is the cause of this attitude on the part of the pupils, and the close of the period is welcomed as a relief from an onerous duty.

Thus, the supervisor of drawing has not only to walk between the contending ranks of decided enemies, but he has to meet in front the uninterested, listless pupils, who have heard all the arguments *pro* and *con*, and consider themselves imposed upon.

The children are only following the laws of evolution—moving along the lines of least resistance. Heredity, more than anything else, and their bare, unlovely lives—the force of environment—are responsible for this sad state of affairs. The majority of these wards of the schools have never, for one moment, realized that there is a beautiful world, full of

joyous paths, the acquaintance with which would fill their hearts with song and lighten their weary struggles for existence with a peace that passeth the understanding of the ignorant. Perhaps never, among all their progenitors, has there been one who knew anything of the subject, and there is no brain cell which vibrates in response to the words "art," "color," "harmony." All is darkness in minds like these. Strive as we may, we cannot pierce this impenetrable shadow upon their brains by any ordinary process.

But the world moves. Greater things have not been accomplished for man than we are striving for. And because of the immense value to humanity that our efforts possess, we are certain of success. If we can lighten a little more the force of impact from contending forces, at the same time opening more clearly a way of progress, the impetus now given the cause will carry it upon a tidal wave of success.

The past speaks well for the future; considering all the disadvantages we have had to contend with, our success has, so far, been phenomenal. One state after another has wheeled into line as to *permitting* art instruction in the schools, while many *provide* for it, and some *compel*. Among the last, Massachusetts and New York stand at the head, in the order named.

Humanity will always bear the scars inflicted by incompetent teachers. In no branch of education is the thoroughly competent teacher demanded more than in the teaching of art. To speak the truth, they are as scarce as the proverbial "hen's teeth." There are those who try to teach it, but they are not teachers, no matter how conscientious they may be. They may be artists, but all artists are not teachers — very few are. The artistic mind loves too well the freedom of the fields and forests, the irregular, irresponsible open-air life, the bohemian existence, to be cheerfully tied down in a school-room. An artist rarely has executive ability, and without it a teacher is lost. Usually, full of his subject to the exclusion of the claims of all others, he selects the talented, brilliant pupil for praise and encouragement, and leaves the

slow, the plodding, and even the most industrious, to shift for themselves. He cares nothing for the justice that demands a system of education which will reach all alike and will deal out instruction and reward with impartiality.

Like all branches of education, art instruction in the schools began at the top and worked downward. The cart was put before the horse. Much was attempted and little was accomplished. Thousands, who might have known something regarding art, but who had had no training which fitted them to deal with the variety of psychoses momentarily presented to their bewildered minds, filled positions requiring a psychological training of which they were totally devoid. The trash which was produced for many years, the absence of progress on the part of the pupils, and the adverse criticism aroused, and used as a weapon by our opponents, opened the eyes of the heads of departments to the fact that the plan of first introducing the subject and then picking up teachers, had been a bad one. The training of teachers for this special subject was then begun and has progressed steadily. These newly trained teachers, provided they are well grounded in the principles involved in their work, are much better tutors for children than the most brilliant artists who deal in glittering generalities, their heads always in the clouds, while their clumsy feet trample ruthlessly upon the budding flowers and clinging tendrils of the baby minds they know not how to reach down to.

Naturally this condition of affairs has produced dissensions among the teachers themselves. Those who are the most practical, the better educated class, contend for a systematic, progressive method, based entirely upon the principles involved in the work required of the pupil. They believe the child should first be taught a language by which he can be made to understand and express himself. They begin, therefore, with the simplest things and progress slowly, building upon a sure foundation. The smallest pupils are taught what lines they must use to represent the facts of objects, and how to combine these lines to form plane figures, to ob-

tain values, and so on. True percepts are first formed, and the pupil is fitted out with facts which he now perceives continually, but which he would otherwise unconsciously pass by. This is the language of art, and, like all languages, a very mysterious one to foreigners.

When a child has learned, first, the language of drawing, and second, how to handle the lines and plane figures both mentally and by drawing them (thus being equipped with facts which he has perceived and does perceive continually), we can easily lead him along the path of *conception*. An object is placed before him and he is taught to analyze it by separating the facts he has already learned,—vertical lines, horizontal lines, oblique lines, squares, trapezoids, trapeziums, circles, and ellipses,—all, the one from the other, and to compare their relation to each other. Then the synthetical rearrangement of these facts follows, and a drawing is produced as the result of a correctly formed concept. The square, which no longer appears as a square, but a trapezium, is not first drawn as a square and then corrected to suit the teacher, the pupil having no knowledge of the reason for making the alteration. His percept is too well educated for that. He may not draw a trapezium with absolute correctness as to proportional lengths of line, but he will produce the figure of his own knowledge. Then it is very easy to have him make any necessary corrections (again of his own knowledge), by means of his pencil measurements, or by a few hints which cause him to think and to perceive for himself.

There are many in the land of art, as in all countries, who use their own language without having any acquaintance with it. These are the ones who would have foreigners learn it by hearing it spoken, instead of having them begin with the grammar. The class of teachers who base all their instruction upon the esthetic, regardless of principles, may be likened to these. When their language is incomprehensible to the dense mind of the ordinary pupil, they wave him aside from their path as "stupid" or "stubborn," and relegate him to the darkness of ignorance, when the fault lies entirely

with themselves. Emerson says, "We must have an intellectual quality in all property and in all action, or they are naught. We vary the phrase, not the doctrine, when we say that culture opens the sense of beauty." The word culture expresses the doctrine I am trying to impress—culture in the sense of a cultivating energy or force, beginning by preparing the ground, then planting the seed, then watering and weeding until the full plant rewards the effort. Says Ware, in his book "The Essentials of Perspective," "Scientific habits of thinking, and the power that comes with them, have no quarrel with the imagination, and offer no obstacle, but only help to its boldest flights." Let us first, then, lay the foundation in a clear and scientific manner, regarding principles first, and then encourage those flights of the imagination which may not only be possible, but will cease to be grotesque, as at present.

When the pupil advances step by step, every step forward is taken with interest and confidence, and, when he has completed the course, he understands why he is required to do certain things and why doing them brings about certain results. He is always able to test his own work and to criticize *himself* as to the correctness of his outline drawing. When the artistic feeling comes into play, and matters of taste, we have another phase of the question. Here all artists lean on one another to a greater or lesser degree, and the pupil must depend upon his master. Of one point I wish to speak particularly. The method advocated by those who believe as I do, does not have a *showy* result. Many teachers are being carried away with fads, nowadays, advocating methods which *seem* to be educating the children, and which make a great show. They are taught to try to make pictures first, and acquiring principles is left until their mind is hardened against study—until, like children fed on cake, they have no taste for the bread of artistic life. Having made all sorts of things which have attracted attention, and for which they have been praised, they regard with disgust the hard plodding along the only road that leads to success. If they are properly taken in hand

while young, and the acquisition of principles judiciously combined with other artistic knowledge, the ultimate result will be much more easily obtained and much more satisfactory.

Heredity is now recognized as one of the potent factors in mental work. It seems, also, to affect the motor centers. The mind inherits from the parents certain tendencies which in themselves produce what we call intuitions. The child of artistic parents has intuitions which lead him to assimilate artistic knowledge very readily. We also see the effect of intuition every day, and every hour of the day, in the musical world, and there see it a thousand times where we meet it once in the artistic. This is because, and *only* because, music has the advantage of art in its long use, and the manner in which it has been cultivated. Every household, from the cabin to the palace, has helped to deepen the impression upon the human mind.

Were children accustomed, as I was when a child, to see a pencil or a brush in the hands of some member of the family continuously, they would not only become unconsciously educated, but would, perforce, inherit and transmit to their own children these artistic tendencies. I have in my home a large album filled with the drawings of my grandfather, my father, my mother, my uncles, and my aunts. They did not attempt to educate me as an artist, nor did I dream of becoming one in my younger days. I simply drifted into the art life when circumstances permitted it, and that after I was thirty years of age. Heredity was too strong to be resisted. On the other hand *neither* of my parents could sing, nor could theirs, before them, and of a family of *six* I am the only one possessing enough temerity to attempt singing by *note*. My wife's family, however, were *all* singers; *she* has always been a singer; and both my boys are extremely musical. Do not these facts prove to us that by educating the children continuously for generations we can at length produce a national love for, and intuitions regarding, art as well as music?

"Why," asks some one, "should we add art to the school

curriculum, already crowded?" and the same person adds, "If there is anything that children can do without, it is drawing and painting! They have to learn enough to earn their bread and butter and then go to work."

This is the utilitarian view—a view as heartless as a stone, as lifeless as a withered leaf. Are we to educate children to be mere grubbing hoes—to dig and delve in the dirt for gold? Away with such education! we have had too much of it already. This sort of education it is that produces the autocrats of Wall street, men who are today grasping at all the rights and privileges of the people; nay, are now forming a trust to control the very bread the people eat, while they meanwhile refuse to pay the taxes due upon their ill gotten gains, thus forcing upon the less fortunate the expenses of a government the powers of which they have themselves usurped. The cold, heartless education of these men, who have had no ideals above the glitter of a dollar, is in a great measure responsible for this state of affairs.

We are, in the future, to train the children in the love of music and the love of art. When every home resounds with happy songs, and every wall is hung with beautiful pictures; when every ear is trained to appreciate the harmonies of sound, and every eye can understand the harmonies of nature; when every heart throbs in unison with the heart of God, and feels his breath, and knows him as he ought to be known—then, and then only, will we have an ideal republic. The citizens of such a country will care more for intellectuality than for the accumulation of wealth; more for the grasp of the hand than for the clutch on a pocketbook; more for the "true and the beautiful" than for any other physical thing; more for love than for aught else under the canopy.

And that love of which I speak, is the love of man for man, of brother for brother.

STANSBURY NORSE.

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COURSES OF STUDY FOR NORMAL SCHOOLS.

IT is still an open question whether normal schools shall exist at all. The scope of their work is also a problem that has yet to be fully settled. The question, What are the proper courses of study? is the one which at present is in most urgent need of discussion.

The number of normal schools already in existence, and the number projected, the number of professors and students, and the amount of money expended, all indicate that the normal school has come to stay. The great number of normal school graduates and undergraduates who have entered elementary school work, also shows that the school has found a permanent place in the educational economy of our country. The number of normal graduates in high school and supervision work indicates that the normal school is slowly but surely pushing its way into the field of the secondary schools. This is especially true in county supervision.

Thus the preparation for the two lines, teaching and supervising, is the business at present of the normal school. But there is another very important field in our educational life, into which the normal has not yet entered, that of preparing professors for college, normal and other schools. Yet there is no reason why the normal school, which really is in accord with the true spirit of our educational life, should not do this kind of work.

The normal school thus far has made one great mistake. It has tried to fill an imaginary gap between the high school and the college. The college has been in part to blame for this, as it has allowed normal school graduates to enter the junior class without examination, thereby acknowledging that the normal has done two years' work in addition to that done by the high school.

The normal either is, or is not, a special school. If it is a special school its work should by no means be that of pre-

paring students for college. If it is not a special school, it has no reason for existing. All will agree that the normal school is a professional school with a special and appropriate work, that of training teachers.

Previous to the present year I have held that no one should be admitted to a professional school—medical, theological, law, normal, or any other—who was not a college graduate. I now see that such may not always be necessary, that in fact it may not in every case give such trained people as we need. This change in my view was produced by an observation of the efficiency of our army and navy, especially the navy, in our late war with Spain. I have studied the result of the work at our military and naval academies, and cannot believe that we should have had more efficient commanders had these men been required to take a college course before entering West Point or Annapolis. Nor do I believe they would have been better commanders if, after graduating from the naval and military schools, they had spent additional years at our great universities. The training at these two national schools is so excellent that I am sure no one thinks for a moment that a college course at either, before entrance or after completion, is necessary or could really add anything. If my memory serves me rightly, inquiries made of great business men have resulted in finding a general conviction that the best business man is he who enters as a boy and grows up with the business. Therefore I am almost convinced that the normal schools are not making a mistake in not requiring all who enter them as students to be college graduates. Yet most of our normal schools might well raise the standard of admission without detriment to the children of our country.

The term "normal" as used in this article, includes not only the so-called normal school, but a teachers' college, which bears the same relation to its university as does the law college and the medical college. From the foregoing it can be seen that in our normal schools, instead of the usual academic, elementary, advanced high school, and college courses, and so on, *ad infinitum et ad nauseam*—from the catalogues of several

normal schools I count thirty-seven such courses,—a true system would be: (1) courses for teachers; (2) courses for supervisors; (3) courses for professors.

The school life of the child quite naturally divides itself into four periods—kindergarten, primary, grammar, and high. Those engaged in child study, cannot help but believe that the American school method, owing to its recognition of these four distinct periods, is superior to the European system, which recognizes only elementary and secondary education. Personally, I am greatly opposed to the latter denomination, as it wholly fails to take note of the most important time in the school-life of the child—the pubescent period. The American grammar school, or the intermediate grades, as has been abundantly proved, does recognize this period, and in this respect, at least, the American idea is far ahead of the European.

In the courses for teachers, it would of course be necessary to give such training as would fit persons to do the work of each of the four school-periods. Thus the courses for teachers would be four: (1) a kindergarten course; (2) a primary school course; (3) a grammar school course; (4) a high school course. I cannot enter into details in regard to these various courses. The one who would prepare herself to work in the kindergarten, would give her whole time in the normal school to such work as would best fit her for kindergarten teaching. The same would hold true in each of the other courses. The first essential would be an understanding of the children constituting the period in life with which the one preparing would have to do. Then would come a consideration of the subject matter to be taught at this period; the necessary relations existing between the mind to be taught and the subject matter to be taught it. In the high school course the work in subject matter would be that of the special subject or subjects which the one preparing is to teach. He who is to teach English would have special preparation for this, and so in mathematics, or in modern languages. In the course for supervision, there may be four

lines of work : (1) course for city superintendents ; (2) course for county superintendents ; (3) course for principals of schools in towns and cities, ward, special, and high schools ; and soon I believe must come (4) courses for principals of township schools. If the time-honored four years is taken as the standard for these courses, it might be well for the first two years to be devoted by all students to general studies such as may be needed by all. This also gives time for student and professor to know better what the student is best fitted, for. The proper course is then selected, and for the next two years specialization is the work for the student, which can be continued, if necessary, by further study in graduate work. It might be wise to demand that all who would enter the courses for supervisors should be college graduates.

The courses for professors could well include presidents of schools. No one but college graduates should be allowed to enter these courses for professors, or men having equivalent attainments. These courses should not deal so much with subject matter as with ways of doing. Many students who read this article have for their professors, men and women who are very competent in subject matter, but thoroughly incompetent in teaching force. I have heard students in college remark that certain professors needed a two years' drill in learning how to teach. There are great teachers in this country who could, if opportunity was given, help just such professors.

I believe our normal schools must cease to prepare for colleges, and that their courses should no longer be planned to such an end. In other words, these schools must no longer be advanced high schools for the towns in which they are located, but must be used for the sole purpose of training teachers. It seems to me that the courses of study as designated in this article would most of all make normal schools professional schools, and cause them to be so recognized and accepted by all educators. Specialization is taking place in every other kind of professional school in the country and in the colleges, and such must and will occur in the

normal schools. There is no finer body of students attending any schools than that attending our normal schools, and when these excellent young men and women are properly trained they will lift our educational life into the highest plane possible.

It is sad to have to acknowledge that our teachers' professional school, the normal school, has at present very little to offer the graduates of our best colleges. But what a world of work and thought would open to the college graduate if he might have offered him such courses of study as I have designated.

What we most need in this country is a normal school, national in its scope. This should be well endowed and in such a way as to have it entirely free from strife and the control of political and religious bodies. It should pay by far the highest salary to its president of any school in this country, and also the highest salaries to its professors, so as to procure the best talent that money can command. Add to this perfect freedom to president and professor, and the greatest talent in the world can be procured for it. It should be allowed to develop its own plans by the studies and experiments of the great educators constituting its faculty. Its special work should be the preparation of teachers for the common schools of our country, and thereby it should be a great model for the other normal schools.

Such a school cannot be founded too soon. If some one wishes his name carried down to posterity as one of the greatest benefactors the educational world has ever known, let him found such a school.

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THE "KINGSVILLE PLAN" OF EDUCATION.

THOSE who have any acquaintance with district schools know that their advantages are meager, as compared with those of the town or city school. There are thousands of these rural schools which furnish their pupils scant preparation for the duties of life. As a rule, they are not graded; the studies taught are the most elementary; the classes are small, and the attendance is irregular. Many districts are so sparsely settled that it is impossible to raise by taxation sufficient funds to build good schoolhouses, or hire a sufficient number of teachers. And, even if this be possible, the attendance is such as to make the per capita cost of maintenance unduly large, so that even a common-school education becomes very costly.

To overcome the many disadvantages of the subdistrict system, and for the purpose of offering an advanced graded-school education to every boy and girl of the proper school age, in Kingsville township, Ashtabula county, Ohio, its citizens have adopted a plan of consolidation, or centralization, of the subdistrict schools of the township into a common central school, conveying the pupils from every part of the township to and from school by means of coaches.

The plan was not original with the citizens of Kingsville, Ohio; it was adopted by the citizens of Quincy, Mass., in 1874, and reported as successful. In Concord, Mass., it has been in operation since 1878. Up to the time the "Kingsville plan" went into effect, a large proportion of Massachusetts towns had consolidated their schools. No similar plan, however, had been tried in the state of Ohio, or in any states of the west. Generally speaking, the people were ignorant of this advance in methods of common-school management. The plan was favored by many educators, but up to the year 1892 no practical step had been taken to introduce a system of consolidation.

While the township is the unit of school organization and administration in Ohio, and is the school district proper, it is divided into subdistricts for the regulation of school attendance, and to serve as a unit of representation in the township board. Previous to 1892, a board of directors, consisting of three men elected by the voters of the school district, employed the teachers and carried on the schools. In the year 1892 all the old powers of the directors were transferred to the township board, which was now represented by one director from each subdistrict. It was this year that the question of building a new schoolhouse in district No. 4, in Kingsville township, came up for discussion before the school board of the township. The schoolhouse was a necessity, but the school attendance was small. The board hesitated about expending the money for a new building. It was at this juncture that Prof. F. E. Morrison, then the principal of the village high school, urged upon the school board the adoption of the plan suggested the year before, that the few scholars of district No. 4 be brought to the village high school at the expense of the taxpayers of the township. As the expense of conveying the children of that district to the high school was far less than the cost of hiring a teacher, to say nothing of erecting a new building, the board of education favored the idea. Upon investigation it was found, however, that there was no law on the statute books of the state, which authorized the expenditure of money out of the public-school fund to pay for conveying children to and from a centrally located school.

While discussing the question of conveyance, the idea of school consolidation took deeper root. A bill was passed in the Ohio state legislature, which enacted that any board of education in any township which by the census of 1890 had a population of not less than 1710, nor more than 1715, may, at their discretion, appropriate funds derived from the school tax, for the conveyance of pupils in subdistricts, from their homes to the high school of said township, provided such appropriation for any subdistrict shall not exceed the amount

necessary, in the judgment of the board of directors, for the maintenance of a teacher in such subdistrict for the same period of time. The law was based specifically upon the rate of population for Kingsville township, and was passed for the benefit of that township only, so as to gain the support of legislators from other sections of the state who were attached to the old plan, but who did not object to a trial of the plan, which they regarded as chimerical.

The system was put in operation in Kingsville township with but little opposition, which came wholly from teachers and their friends, who saw that by the consolidation of the schools the number of positions open to them was lessened. Each subdistrict was admitted upon a written petition signed by the taxpayers of the school district. At first only three subdistricts availed themselves of the privilege. A fourth followed later. At present there are only two subdistricts which still maintain separate schools; but these, it is confidently expected, will follow within a year.

When the taxpayers of the subdistrict have by petition signified their willingness to abandon the school of the subdistrict, and send their children to the central school, the board of education employs a teamster to convey the pupils of the subdistrict thither—one teamster employed for each subdistrict. These teamsters work under a special contract, and agree to construct covered wagons, approved by the board of education, to be used in the conveyance of the pupils. These wagons are provided with side and end curtains, which may be raised or removed on warm days, and tightly closed in cold or stormy weather. They have steps in the rear by means of which the pupils enter or leave the coach. The seats are arranged lengthwise, and are provided with cushions, and suitable blankets for the covering and comfort of the pupils. Each coach carries from eighteen to twenty-four persons.

The contracts for conveying the pupils from each subdistrict are let out to the lowest responsible bidder; the board, however, reserves the right to give the contracts to

those whom they deem fit to be entrusted with the care of the pupils. The moral character of the bidder, as well as the soundness of the bid, is considered. The teamster enters into a written agreement that he will get the pupils at their homes, convey them to the central school, at a time set forth in the contract, and be ready to return them within a specified time after the school is out. He also agrees that no profane, immoral, or indecent language shall be used by himself or others, during the transportation of the pupils to and from the school building. He further agrees that he will allow no tobacco or spirituous liquors to be used by any person in the conveyance. Every morning, during the school year, the teamster drives to the homes of the pupils on his route, makes his presence known by ringing a bell, or blowing a horn, to which the pupil responds by promptly entering the wagon. If he does not appear within a few minutes, the wagon drives on, and the pupil is marked tardy. Thus far, there have been very few cases of tardiness. The price per day, for each wagon, varies in the different districts. During the present school year, the price per wagon for conveying the pupils from the four outlying subdistricts is one dollar and fifteen cents a day. Up to the present time, there have been more bidders than contracts to award. While the price is low, it offers fair and sure compensation to those who accept the contracts.

The experiment was watched with much interest by educators, and those interested in education, throughout Ohio. Some thought the plan impracticable, others championed it with ardor. The latter looked upon it as the most practicable and economical solution of the vexed "country-school problem." This was specially true among educators of neighboring townships and counties. They saw realized in this plan their hope of giving to the country pupil all the advantages of education which the city boy or girl enjoys. And they urged the adoption of the plan in the localities in which they taught schools. Accordingly, two years later, a more general law was passed, which provided for the extension of

the "Kingsville plan" to other townships. It has also been adopted in townships in New York, Pennsylvania, West Virginia, Kentucky, and other states of the west, since its trial in Kingsville, Ohio.

The residents of the subdistricts of Kingsville township which have adopted this plan, would deem it retrogression to go back to the old subdistrict plan. It has given the school system of Kingsville an individuality which makes it unique and progressive. Pupils from every part of the township enjoy a graded-school education, whether they live in the most remote corner of the township, or at the very doors of the central school. The line between the country-bred and village-bred youth is blotted out. They study the same books, are competitors for the same honors, and engage in the same sports and pastimes. This mingling of the pupils from the subdistricts and the village has had a deepening and broadening influence upon the former, without any disadvantage to the latter. With the grading of the school and the larger number of pupils, have come teachers of a more highly educated class. Higher branches of study are taught, the teachers are more conversant with the needs of their profession. The salaries are larger; the health of the pupils is preserved, because they are not compelled to walk to school in slush, snow, and rain, to sit with damp, and perhaps wet feet, in ill-ventilated buildings. Nor is there any lounging by the wayside. As the use of indecent and obscene language is prohibited in the wagons, all opportunities for quarreling, or for improper conduct, on the way to and from school, are removed. The attendance is larger, and in the subdistricts which have taken advantage of the plan it has increased from fifty to one hundred and fifty per cent., in some cases; truancy is unknown. It has lengthened the school year for a number of the subdistricts; it has increased the demands for farms in those subdistricts which have adopted the plan, and real estate therein is reported more salable. The drivers act as daily mail-carriers. All parts of the township have been brought into closer touch and sympathy.

The cost of maintenance is less than that of the schools under the subdistrict plan; the township has had no school-houses to build; it has paid less for repairs and fuel. "Since the schools were consolidated, the incidental expenses have decreased from eight hundred to eleven hundred dollars per year to from four hundred to six hundred dollars per year." In the first three years following its adoption, Kingsville township has actually saved one thousand dollars.

State commissioner of common schools, O. T. Corson, in his forty-third annual report to the governor of Ohio, referring to the Kingsville experiment, states that "the expense of schooling the children has been reduced nearly one-half, the daily attendance has been very largely increased, and the quality of the work done has been greatly improved." Prof. J. R. Adams, superintendent of schools of Madison township, Lake county, says that "under the new plan the cost of tuition per pupil, on the basis of total enrolment, has been reduced from sixteen dollars to ten dollars and forty-eight cents; on the basis of average daily attendance, from twenty-six dollars and sixty-six cents to sixteen dollars and seven cents. The total expense will be about the same in this district as under the old plan, but the cost per pupil will be much less." This is because the school attendance has increased in Madison township from two hundred and seventeen to three hundred pupils, since the plan went into operation.

In the townships where the "Kingsville plan" has been adopted it has met with general favor, and has received the warmest support of educators, who regard it as a long step forward toward placing the country schools upon a higher plane of efficiency. Superintendent Adams, referred to above, writes: "A trial of this plan of consolidating our schools has satisfied me that it is a step in the direction toward whatever advantages a well-graded and well-classified school of three or four teachers has over a school of one teacher with five or eight grades. I am more thoroughly convinced than ever that centralization is the true solution of the country-school problem." Prof. F. E. Morrison, to whom

its adoption by the board of education in Kingsville township was in a great measure due, speaks of it as "a system of education superior to any in the state of Ohio, and one which is to be the system of the future." And in the forty-fifth report to the governor of Ohio, State Commissioner O. T. Corson, referring to the "Kingsville plan," says: "I anticipate none the less an increasing tendency in all parts of the state, year by year, to make the law serviceable in reducing school expenses, and in extending the benign influence of well-graded instruction. Incidental to the operation of this law, township high schools will be established, township libraries will be built up, and possibly it is no idle hope that the same wagons that carry the children to and from school may also carry, under government contract, the mails, and distribute them free to our farming communities."

Prof. L. E. York, superintendent of Kingsville school, in writing concerning the system, says: "The best physical laboratory in America is the well-regulated American farm. Here the boys and girls study nature first-handed. Here they observe the growth and life of plants and animals. Here they breathe pure air, become familiar with the beauties and wonders of the natural world. Here they make character. To have added to all these opportunities the advantages of a high school education, without any of the disadvantages that attend the spending of evenings, without chores or home duties, in the town, is an educational condition that is almost ideal."

The pupils like the system, as do the teachers employed. It has gained the favor of parents, and in general is regarded by those who have studied it and understand its workings as a most practical advance in methods of rural education.

EDWARD ERF.

Ashtabula, Ohio.

WORKERS AT WORK.

V.—F. HOPKINSON SMITH IN THREE PROFESSIONS.

AT his Wall Street office, a civil engineer ; at his home near the Waldorf-Astoria, an artist and an author.

His office is like a thousand others. His home is like only F. Hopkinson Smith—outside, merely one of a row of brownstones ; inside, overflowing with evidences of the owner's originality and versatility. I found him in his studio on the top floor, standing before the fireplace, where a chestnut log crackled gleefully. Tall, soldierly, magnetic, strength lurking beneath the gentleness of evening clothes, seemingly not a moment older than forty, yet a man of more than sixty years of worldly experience and unceasing work ; to men a friend, by women admired. We made a tour of the world, the man of three professions as the guide. That is, we journeyed round his studio-museum, stumbling upon souvenirs and curios gathered during painting days in Cuba, England, Holland, Switzerland, Spain. Here was "The White Umbrella in Mexico," famous cotton shade giver now decrepit, servant of long service. In this room of relics, under the skylight, through which the stars peeped, he told me the story of the working days of F. Hopkinson Smith—creator of "Colonel Carter," maker of a dozen books from "Well Worn Roads," his first, to "Tom Grogan," his latest ; painter of Venice, of Constantinople, of other places picturesque today ; builder of the Race Rock lighthouse, near New London, the jetties at the mouth of the Connecticut River, the breakwater at Block Island and others elsewhere, the sea wall surrounding Governor's Island in New York Harbor, the foundation of the Liberty Statue. Engineering is his business ; it is his meat and potatoes. Painting and writing he found waiting like waifs on the door-step of his life ; and he took them in. They are

his salad and dessert. As an engineer he makes his living ; as a painter and writer he enjoys his living.

He gave the sum of his life work — the Race Rock lighthouse. That light has burned steadily for twenty years. F. Hopkinson Smith put it there ; he is proud of it — “because it made such a profound impression on my life.” “It helped me,” he said ; “It made me depend upon myself. I spent six years building it, and I lived on the rocks all the working months, with my men as my companions. It was a tough problem, but what helped me then has helped me in every undertaking since — stickedness of purpose. I made contracts not only with the government, but with Hop Smith. To bind myself to the unwritten part of the contract I resorted to absurd whims. “See here.” He snatched a drawing from the wall. “Here’s a sketch I made of the lighthouse during its construction,” he continued, flinging his cigar into the fireplace to give full play to enthusiasm. “Now, each of those big foundation stones weighs ten tons. When we began laying them, the top button of my coat came off and I contracted with myself not to have that button sewed on till the stones appeared above water. I kept the contract. Next, I would not get my hair cut until the foundation was complete. So I went around with my hair hanging over my collar. When storms came and it looked as if a year’s work would be swept away in a single night, when neither button nor hair would help me, I worried. I still worry when absorbed in any unfinished work, whether lighthouse, painting, book, or series of lectures. But I never cease trying to do better.”

In winter, this Jack of three trades and master of each is engineer by day and author by night. In summer, day and night, he is simply the painter. When he is in Venice no mail whatever is forwarded to him. When painting, he neither knows nor cares what is going on in the world. With him, Venice is a passion ; and he is not the only painter who has it. For fourteen years, broken only by a season or two elsewhere, he has spent the summer months there painting all out-doors, reproducing Venetian beauty, color, atmosphere.

All through his business career he has always found time, somehow, for art. Before Venice captured his brushes, he went to the White Mountains,—spent fifteen consecutive August vacations there, each time bringing some of their beauties back in his portfolio. To his work in art he applies the principles of business. The moment his picture is framed, it is, to him, simply an article of merchandise for which he asks—and receives—the highest market price.

Now the artist turned author, and something was said about inspiration. "The only inspiration I know of, in writing," he said, "is days and nights of the labor called thought. I wrote the first chapter of 'Colonel Carter' nine times and corrected the proofs till the printer refused to send more." On the table before which he was now sitting, was a score of thick Six B lead pencils and a big pad of yellow paper, the literary worker's tools. He comes up town from his office at four in the afternoon and writes until six. When anything interrupts this plan he writes through the two hours following midnight. When the words necessary to make the proper rhythm will not come, he makes dashes representing the length of the missing words and fills them in when revising. When he sent his first story to the publisher, he asked if that was what was wanted, adding that his friends had been advising him to write, some this way, some that. Came the answer by telegraph: "Keep right on. Don't let anyone interfere." Ever since, in all his work, as author, artist, or engineer, he has followed that publisher's advice. The telegram, framed, hangs on the wall over his writing table, between a photograph of the original of "Colonel Carter" and a painting of the Race Rock lighthouse.

GILSON WILLETS.

New York.

THE BUFFALO CONFERENCE.

I. PLAN AND SCOPE.

THIS conference is designed to be a reform "sociable," outing, or picnic, or more properly, a school of method, a normal institute for teachers of political economy.

It is not a political convention, and there are no delegates — duly authorized or otherwise. Men and women have been invited who are known to be true, public spirited, fair, and courteous; who regard not creed or faction when facing the future. Democrats and republicans; all kinds of populists, socialists, and prohibitionists; Hebrews, Catholics, and Protestants, together with advocates of organized labor, direct legislation, good roads, the single tax, the Y. M. C. A., the Salvation Army, civil service, coöperation, municipal ownership, and colonization; all these will attend.

The work of the conference will be for organization, rather than for education. Only the first two days will be devoted to a discussion of principles; for, as a rule, those who attend are acquainted with all the measures upon the program. Those who are not thoroughly informed, will have an opportunity to obtain further information in the social gatherings, and at special meetings. Three days will be given to the discussion of methods, in executive session, and two days will be given the general public. It does not seem possible, nor altogether advisable, with so many different elements, that the conference should attempt the formation of a political party, or attempt an affiliation with any party now in existence. Those who attend will have no power to act in accordance with either of these ideas, except so far as each may be personally concerned. No action is to be binding, except upon those who vote for it.

Men as capable as they are well disposed, and with a common interest, can do much, and the indirect results of this

gathering may be far greater than the direct. When it shall be known that the greenbackers, the single taxers, the prohibitionists, the evangelists, the municipal reformers, and the chiefs of labor are counseling together in America, the star of progress will shine brighter the world around. We propose to have a candid discussion of methods among ourselves, to get together and compare notes, to recite our victories and count our bruises. "How may we make the greatest progress?" is the question to be answered; hence this invitation to the theorist and to the practical politician, to the author and speaker, to the organizer and evangelist. Are the best results to be obtained along partisan lines, or non-partisan? Shall we advance one measure at a time, and which one first, or shall we push the whole line? Shall we denounce, persecute, and punish our opponents, or advance with dignity, with a fair front and well measured words? Shall we frighten and drive, or seek the confidence and respect of the unbeliever? Can we reach the people most quickly and with permanent results through the press, with fragmentary literature, from the platform, or by personal effort and through social functions? These things we desire to know, and we expect to obtain much of this information from master minds at this experience meeting.

To have a conference of two hundred and fifty people was the purpose of the committee when the invitations were issued. But four hundred and fifty have already accepted the invitation and at least fifty more will do so, swelling the number to five hundred. From the character of those who will attend, the conference must be world wide in its influence.

The subjects arranged for discussion are: "The monopolies — shall the people leave them alone, abolish, control, or own them? local monopolies — what shall the city own? industrial monopolies, transportation, currency, expansion and militarism, a permanent international tribunal, proportional representation, recall or imperative mandate, single tax, non-partisan temperance, organized labor, value of direct leg-

isolation, present status of the direct legislative movement and its future, failure of other systems and what can the existing political parties do?

There will be numerous open meetings for the public between sessions. Many of the pulpits of Buffalo will be occupied on Sunday by members of the conference, and on the Fourth of July, public meetings will be held all day, with excursions from the near-by towns.

JAMES H. FERRISS.

Joliet, Ill.

II. POSSIBILITIES OF THE CONFERENCE.

The possibilities of the Buffalo conference of the many reform parties seem great for the advancement of human fellowship and a better understanding among men who are agreed in desiring better things, but not yet agreed as to how those better things shall be instituted and established.

In all ages and all places reformers have been men who have been "sternly just," men of intense convictions, men who would not compromise. They would not have been reformers had they not possessed these qualities. But because human nature at best is incomplete, and because it is difficult for our human nature to differentiate between the sinner and the sin, reformers have usually been men who not only stood like adamant for what they believed was true, but also men who have been contentious and controversial over every point, essential or otherwise, that might arise. Among reformers there has been a true apostolic succession from those apostles who forbade others from casting out devils in Christ's name because they followed not him. In the struggle for the right, men have learned to regard almost as criminals all other men who disagree with them. If they condemn the thought, they no less fiercely condemn the thinker. Each claiming for himself the right of private judgment, they have been oft-times bitter and intolerant in condemning all others who claim the same right for themselves.

This has been a serious hindrance in progress. Men fought each other when they should have fought a common foe; they learned to feel that the unpardonable sin was difference of opinion. It was left for an organization of farmers to proclaim the truth that "difference of opinion is no crime, but advances towards truth are made through differences of opinion; while the fault lies in the bitterness of controversy." And yet, to my personal knowledge, this same organization has fallen far short of its declaration on this subject.

What is the possibility of the Buffalo conference? It can bring together men of every shade of thought concerning the advanced requirements of the human race. It can enable them to hear each other, see each other, greet each other; and each can learn that a man may differ from him widely, and yet be a Christian gentleman. It may enable many of them to learn that the points wherein they differ are non-essential, and that they really stand together on those things which are essential. It can help to bring about a better understanding between men who should be fighting side by side in the great battle for humanity. It can be productive of a broader tolerance, a deeper charity, and a better understanding. It can wipe out prejudice and personal ill will, and establish a human fellowship instead.

But what of the possibilities of the Union Reform Party? The Union Reform Party is an organization composed of men who have come up into it out of every political kindred and tribe upon the face of the American continent, and united for the sole purpose of securing to the people, through amendments to state and national constitutions, the right to make their own laws, to control their own officers, and to be in fact, as well as in name, the sovereigns of the land.

That is the whole of it. In accomplishing this work, we are obliged to adopt the name and some of the forms of a political party, because, under our present system of government, it is only through a political party that the citizen can have any voice in affairs of government. But it is not the purpose of this organization to build a political party which shall

stand through years, retain possession of the government, administer it according to its will, and rule the people as the party and its organization may deem best. It proposes nothing of the sort, because it holds that the people themselves are the only fountain of legitimate power in government. It believes that when the power is given to the people to whom it belongs, and they can exercise that power directly under the system known as the initiative and the referendum, no political parties will be needed to voice the popular will, and that, in fact, political parties as we know them now could not exist.

Its possibilities? It seems possible that in such a movement could be gathered every citizen who in his heart believes the grand principles of the Declaration of Independence, that all men are created equal, and that governments derive their just powers only from the consent of the governed.

It matters not what may be the views of these men on tariff or free silver, prohibition or municipal control. The party is not organized to legislate on these or other questions. It is organized simply to secure such change in our form of government as will put the power to legislate on all these questions into the hands of the people themselves. He who believes in a protective tariff, and he who does not, can work side by side in securing this change, provided only both are willing that the matter of tariff or free silver shall be determined by the sovereign sentiment of the sovereign people, and not by party conventions and party bosses. Each will claim the right, when direct legislation is secured, to have his views presented, for adoption or rejection, to the people; and each must grant to all others the same right.

With such an opportunity, there would seem to be a possibility of gathering quickly such an army of honest citizens, that victory would be immediate, and this government be made in fact, as well as in name, a government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

This accomplished, what, then, are the possibilities?

The first is not a possibility, but a certainty. The whole

corrupt party system as now known, which has become a disgrace to the nation and an offence to every good citizen, would disappear. There would be no struggle, there would be no need of laws against it; it would cease and disappear because that which created it was gone. Men could not be herded into parties and driven on some boss made platform as sheep are herded in a cattle car, because there would be no need of party platforms. Each man could declare his own sentiment on every question before the people, without the need of party platforms, party conventions, party bosses, and all the crimes and corruption which result. Each man would make his own platform when he marked his ticket at the ballot box.

Another possibility — which would become a certainty — is that the "third house," that great source of oppression, injustice, and corruption would disappear. There would be no need of legislation against the lobby, for there would be no lobby against which to legislate. There would be no need of laws against bribing legislators, for there would be no one who would waste a penny in such work. There would be no more farcical investigation of legislative bribery, for there would be no legislative bribery to investigate. A corporation with a hundred millions at its disposal would not spend a nickel in purchasing an entire legislature, when it knew that the action of that legislature, if unsatisfactory to the people, could be rejected by the people at the next election. Corporations would become honest, because it would not pay them to be dishonest. They would abandon the policy of bribery and corruption, because there would be nothing gained either by bribery or by corruption. Members of the legislature would not be tempted and corrupted, and changed from honest men to corrupt political boodlers in a single session, because there would be nothing gained by succumbing to temptation and becoming corrupt and dishonest.

Then there are other possibilities. It would be possible then for the people of any state to wipe out the liquor traffic. All that would be needed would be to get a majority of the

people to believe it should be wiped out. It would not be necessary that the men who desire this agree on tariff, or money, or monopoly; they could simply vote together for prohibition. It would be possible for any city to adopt municipal ownership. All men who desire municipal ownership could vote for it, whether or no they agreed on tariff, free silver, or prohibition. It would be possible to secure a just and righteous currency system which would provide equal opportunities for all, and give special privileges to none, if the people could establish such a system; and all who sought it could unite, no matter how they differed on prohibition, or tariff, or municipal control.

It would be possible for the advocates of that great fundamental act of justice, the abolition of land monopoly, to get their great principle before the people as they have never been able to get it before.

R. S. THOMPSON.

Springfield, Ohio.

DEAD IN HIS HARNESS.

'Tis the way to die! Let the fight be fierce,

'Till the day be won — or lost!

Though axe may cleave, though lance may pierce,

May no one count the cost!

And know, timid souls, who faint with fear,

Who tremble and turn in dread,

There is highest fame for the warrior, here,

Who fights till he falleth dead!

FRANK C. LOCKWOOD.

Malden, Mass.

UNITE OR PERISH.*

THERE will be, on the republican side, in the campaign of 1900, the organizers of every trust, the president and directors of every bank, the officers and larger stock holders of every railroad, the employers in every protected industry, the managers and beneficiaries of every corporation operated under, or in hope of, special privilege; and, above all these, the creators of and gainers by the great monopoly of money. There will be exceptions, but so few as only to illuminate the fact; and this will occur, no matter what the platform, or who the nominees of the party. The platform will be framed to deceive, the nominees chosen to mislead. The controllers of the trusts can be counted on to control republican legislation, no matter what the platform, or who the chosen tools. Principles count for little in a party that represents eighty-four per cent. of the wealth of the land, owned by twelve per cent. of the people. But this is by no means all. Upon the republican side will be, not only those of great wealth, who are few, but those whom they directly or indirectly control, who are many. This will include, for example, nine-tenths of the wealthier clergy, who preach to rich men's wives and receive the rich men's checks. It will include most of the poorer clergy and religious workers among the poor, who, as a rule, are more dependent upon wealth even than those with larger salaries. It will include the lawyer who expects large fees, or who seeks a bank, railroad, or corporation practice. Standing for silver in 1896 cost many a lawyer a remunerative practice. It will include most editors; at least most editorials will favor the republican party, though not a few journalists will write one way and vote another. The exception to the republican attitude of the press will be a few brilliant and well-known

* An open letter from the Union Reform League of America to the members of the Buffalo Conference of June 28, 1899.

papers of the established press and the noble army of martyrs of the unestablished reform press. Among those directly or indirectly influenced by wealth will be most college presidents and professors, those who desire to become such, and teachers very generally in schools, both public and private. Few are so dependent today as teachers; those in public schools upon machine politics, those in private schools directly upon wealth. The only professional men who, as a class, are still largely independent, are physicians. The present system so wears on the nerves of the wealthy, of the poor, and particularly of those who are neither, that a physician with a practice can be reasonably independent. Besides the professions, there will be at the command of the moneyed a large number of the unmoneyed, in need of money. This includes the multitudinous small merchants who may need loans from banks. It includes many who have mortgaged property, and, according to the last census, only thirty-five per cent. of our people own unmortgaged homes. It includes vast numbers of the salesmen and clerks in stores and offices. Indeed, the whole commercial class as a whole, can be counted upon faithfully to kneel before its feudal lords.

Yet this is not all. It is startling to realize that on the republican side will be many workingmen, especially among the poorest. Almost all railroad employees, a large percentage of the employees in protected manufactories, monopolized industries, street car companies, etc., with a vast proportion of the ignorant foreign voters of the cities will, of necessity, be enforcedly republican. Practically the whole bought vote, the whole ignorant vote, the whole bull-dozed vote is today republican. This, together with the great, ignorant, respectable vote that it can indirectly buy, is money's main reliance.

Do we realize how the republican party is now at work? There are four national bureaus at present in its service. A single one of these employs one hundred and fifty clerks; and one hundred and fifty clerks can send out many letters in two years. Let us open their mail bag and see where these letters go, and what are their contents.

Many of the letters go to the city press, and more to the country papers over the whole land. They contain matter for publication. They tell us that business is improving, and how much money is going through the clearing houses. It is easy to show this. Last year on the average nearly two trusts were formed a week. This year business is better, and now a new trust appears almost every morning. If the trusts could only perform a new robbery every hour, still more money would be "transferred" and go through the clearing houses. The letters, too, report in glowing terms what cases there are of wages being raised five or ten per cent., but forget to explain how, in the previous two years, wages have been cut again and again five or ten per cent., twenty or thirty per cent. in all. They also forget to state how the product is increasing and what is due to a heavy export trade. This will probably increase still more. When our people are completely robbed so that they can buy nothing, and work for nearly nothing, our manufacturers will be both able and compelled to export still more.

These letters also usually contain the statement that silver is dead. Some of them also quote certain professors in certain colleges. Later, after correspondence with Washington, these professors are appointed "experts on statistics" to certain United States bureaus and commissions. Still later, workingmen are surprised to hear that "expert statistics" show that wages in the United States "have increased eighty per cent. in the last fifty years." Others of these interesting letters are sent to the religious press, and argue that silver means financial dishonor and national disgrace. Moreover, silver is dead! Obituary editorials are requested and papers are asked to "please copy." These letters contain no checks. Religious people cannot be bought in that way. The letters to the regular press only occasionally contain checks. Most editors can be trusted of themselves to be on the side of money. Still other letters go to the papers in the United States published in foreign languages. These contain editorials prepared in the various languages, with a

note to the editor promising payment, on receipt of a copy of the paper containing the editorial. These letters are also sent in mourning over silver. Other letters go to certain great republican organs, with directions to send their weekly editions for six months to such and such doubtful voters, with notes informing them that the paper is paid for by "a friend," and that they need not be afraid to take it from the office. The paper is told to send the bill to the bureau.

Other letters do not go to the press, but are sent to the banks, railroad corporations, etc., and contain suggestions for the treatment of employees, financial dependents, etc. One suggestion is that banks make no loans to parties advertising in reform journals. This suggestion is now being acted on in the United States. Is not this a free country? Cannot the banks do as they please? All such firms are also reminded that silver is dead, and to spread the news. Perhaps the most important letters, however, go to republican organizers through the land, and usually contain large checks. This money goes ultimately to representatives more or less under pay, in every contested district, in every doubtful ward, in every close precinct in the United States, especially in the foreign precincts. In many doubtful cities the party has, in the close wards, representatives, more or less under pay, in every block. Finally, still other letters contain no checks, but receipts. These are addressed to the great combines and monopolies. This department makes all the rest possible. Mr. Hanna means to win in 1900.

What is there on the opposite side? Only two good things, Humanity and Truth. But unfortunately, there are also on the reform side four evil things, weakness, discouragement, poverty, division.

Truth and humanity will win, but only on two conditions. The first of these is the less important of the two; yet it is inexorable. Without it we cannot win. It is that the reform forces unite. This, we say, is the less important of the two conditions, but it is the inexorable one.

There are now in the United States these parties opposed

to the Republican party: Democratic, Fusionist, People's, Middle of the Road People's, Silver Republican, Prohibition, National Prohibition, Socialistic Labor, Social Democratic, Union Reform, American, Labor, Farmers', Public Ownership, Federal. There are others. A new party is started almost every month. Some people desire the Buffalo conference to start one more.

If we are really to have union, every party except one, and perhaps every party, must lay down its name. This does not mean that any reformer must give up any opinion. He need not even stop working for his ideas. He can work educationally for what he will. But it will require a political platform containing only those measures on which the majority agree. Probably, if we have a union, every reformer at Buffalo will have to see some of his ideas set aside upon some point. This is not compromise, but belief in majority rule. Unity calls for no seared consciences. It asks not sacrifices *of*, but *to* the truth — the truth that we cannot do everything at once, and that we are politically inter-dependent, and that in politics majorities must rule.

One thing will make this easy. On direct legislation all can unite, and thus afford to see their particular ideas not named, because with direct legislation gained, almost any other reform can be then more speedily gained. Reformers must therefore come to Buffalo ready to give as well as to take, and to take ideas as well as to give. Only in this mood can we possibly unite.

But there is one other condition of success, a condition greater than that of union. It is truth. Truth is greater than unity. The people will gather round truths; they will not gather round a machine. Principles must lead to party, not party to principles. For what principles must United Reform declare?

Three things must decide: First, the principles must be true. Reformers cannot unite for lies. Death is better than that. Second, they must be adequate to the situation. No bauble or string of baubles will answer. Division is better

than useless union. Third, the measures adopted must be within the range of political possibility, which includes the fact that they must be acceptable to millions of voters. Dreamers may unite for the impossible. Practical men cannot.

What measures, then, fulfil these three conditions ?

Direct legislation is one of them. This will not accomplish everything, but it is today a *sine qua non*. Without it we can get nothing. It only can give us control over our legislators. Legislators have sold us out before. Without direct legislation, they can do so again. But with direct legislation, they cannot, at least not to any important extent. Direct legislation is the way today to spell democracy, the people's rule. Moreover, direct legislation leads to and includes all other reforms. It is almost the one measure upon which *all* the schools of reform agree. Its growth into favor has been unequalled in rapidity. It occupies the head of the marching columns of reform. But alone it is not enough. Some think it is. The Union Reform party of Ohio thinks it is. It says that any party unwilling to leave all else to the people shows thereby that it does not believe in direct legislation. This is specious reasoning. Certainly any party that believes in direct legislation should refer all legislation to the people ; but this should not except direct legislation itself. But a party does not legislate, it only proposes legislation ; and any reform party that would win today must *propose* much more than direct legislation. People want direct legislation ; but why ? Because they think it the means to something else,— principally public ownership.

This is another measure which fulfils the conditions indicated. It is only because of the end that most of them care for the means. It is the end which will create enthusiasm, call out votes, carry the platform to success. Reformers may realize the necessity and all sufficiency of direct legislation, but the people cannot be roused over any mere machinery of legislation. Public ownership will carry direct legislation to success at the polls, and then direct legislation will make

public ownership possible. Do we realize how popular public ownership is? The most popular papers of New York, Chicago, and San Francisco have come out avowedly for it. It was to some extent in the platform of every municipal party in Greater New York, two years ago. It was favored by every party, in one way or another, in Chicago's recent election. Because of his active hostility to private franchises, Carter Harrison was elected. It is embodied in the new charter of San Francisco. In Toledo, Mayor Jones made it his main plank, and received twice as many votes as both his opponents combined. It is favored by the Gold Democrats of the East, and by Henry Watterson in the heart of Bourbon Kentucky. And these instances show not only what editors and politicians think, but their judgment of what is popular with the people. If direct legislation has grown rapidly, public ownership has grown widely in favor. If direct legislation is the head, public ownership is the heart of reform, and a reform platform today without public ownership, would mean a campaign that had lost heart in the beginning. Hence the folly of declaring for direct legislation alone. We cannot get everything at once; it is well to be definite and concrete; we must use language that the dullest can comprehend, and the acutest cannot twist into the declaration that we want to socialize everything at once; hence we favor language neither too vague nor too inclusive, but a definite declaration for "the national ownership of railroads, telegraphs and telephones, and the municipal ownership of water, light, and local transit."

Two other planks must be added. The first of these is an anti-imperialist plank. This is necessary because the conscience of the land is aroused upon this point, and reform cannot neglect conscience. The attitude of the administration is a direct violation of the fundamental principle of all popular government, as deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed. The additional facts that it has broken the nation's solemn pledge, given before the war, is holding cheap our soldiers' lives, and taking the lives of thousands of half-tutored islanders, while at the cannon's

mouth it talks of spreading the principles of christianity and of enlightened government, has called down a tempest on its head, even from its own party. Unless such a policy be immediately changed, it will be necessary to condemn it in any reform platform, and to do so so loudly that all the world may hear. It is not a question of the Philippine islands, but of the United States. It is not a question of policy, but of honesty and moral right. Upon such a question, reform can neither be silent, nor utter uncertain sound. There will, too, as always in standing for the right, be political gain in such a plank. Few planks will rally more to our cause the best conscience of the nation, and few planks will better serve to divide the enemy. If we make the plank an issue, the republican party will be compelled either to support or condemn the administration, yet either course will cost the party hundreds of thousands of votes, for it is strong proof of the perniciousness of its policy, that thousands, and, perhaps millions, of republicans blush at their champion's course.

The fourth plank that we must adopt is the endorsement of the fundamental principles of the Chicago platform of 1896. This at first will not appear necessary to some, but it is so. To leave it out would mean absolute defeat. Let any who doubt ask themselves two questions. First, can reform win without the coöperation of that great new democratic party which, in 1896, polled 6,500,000 votes? Secondly, can that democratic party, fresh from that battle, go back on the issue that gave it birth? It can go forward, but it cannot go backward. The proposition to leave silver out of the union platform means to ask the democratic party, led by strong men, and backed by millions of voters who deeply believe in the silver principle, after a magnificent campaign, in which they almost won, and after standing for the cause since, suddenly to drop it; to eat their own words; to shift their ground under the enemies' fire. The party will not do it. Or, it means to leave the democratic party out of the union and to form a new party, and then expect to win. This would be madness! It would be reform's suicide.

Realize the democratic position. That party is willing to take up all else that we ask. Direct legislation is already in most democratic state platforms, and in 1896 came within one vote in the platform committee of being put even into the national platform. In 1900 it cannot be defeated. The utterances of all the great popular democratic papers and of almost all the leaders show that the party is equally ready for public ownership. If one doubts this, let him read again the details we give above. Public ownership cannot be defeated in the next democratic convention. The east will work for it with the west. The democratic leaders, too, are with us on the anti-imperialist plank. It will thus declare for all other planks in our platform, *and if it does not, we do not favor union with it*. Can we not then, to get that union, declare for free silver, which the democrats and most populists want? Why should we not? Some say that other issues are more important. Perhaps: but this is argument, not for leaving silver out, but for *adding* other propositions to it, which is exactly what we propose.

Some say they want, not silver, but "scientific money." Perhaps they do; we do ourselves; but can we get it? Others say that the whole money question is unimportant and befogs the issue. If it be unimportant, can they not accept that little thing to win the great democratic party? A few, very few, reformers have conscientious scruples against the silver dollar. They really believe it would be a dishonest or fifty cent dollar. We ask no men to compromise honest belief. But reformers who so think are few. Of the 6,454,000 votes counted for silver in 1896, to say nothing of the votes *cast*, probably less than 1,000 now think silver *wrong*. The coming up of new issues, the fresh crimes committed by the republican party have, perhaps temporarily, in part obscured the silver question; but, for every silver man who has come to think silver *wrong*, and whose vote we may therefore lose, we shall win hundreds of votes of those weary and sick of gold and the rule of gold. It must be remembered, too, that at any moment the money question may blaze up into a con-

flagration. The long-time debts of the nation are estimated by some at \$20,000,000,000 of dollars, the short-time debts at perhaps as much more. There is in the whole land, according to republican authority, considerably less than \$2,000,000,000 of legal money. Let there be a financial or an industrial panic, (and with trusts, capitalized at \$7,000,000,000, largely water, a crash seems only a question of time), let confidence once go, and the people may have to pay \$40,000,000,000 of debts with \$2,000,000,000 of money. What that will mean, no one can even faintly guess.

We grant that large numbers of populists, and others outside of the democratic party, would prefer something better than silver; but that is not the question. The question is, Can we get anything better? If not, our silence would mean gold. To go over to the gold standard is an impossibility for most democrats and populists; yet this is what silence would mean. Hence the insertion of a silver plank is necessary, if we are to have the democrats and most populists with us. We ask no reformers to vote for it who have conscientious scruples against silver; but everybody else should vote for it, whether he personally desires it or not. *The success of union may depend on this point.* Direct legislation is the head, public ownership the heart, anti-imperialism the conscience; but free silver furnishes the feet of reform, and it alone can give us a standing that can unite with us the largest party opposed to republican domination. Without the democratic party we cannot win.

What then definitely should the Buffalo conference do? Declare for these four measures: direct legislation, public ownership, anti-imperialism, and free silver; for union upon them, and for union *through the largest party that will accept these measures.* We do not recommend that the conference declare for any party. If the democratic party will accept all four propositions, as we believe it will, undoubtedly the best chance for success will be through that party; but, if the democratic party should fail to do so, we do not recommend union with it. Some dislike, and more fear, the demo-

cratic party. We remind such that the present democratic party is practically a new party, under a new, honest, and fearless leader, a leader committed to the people's cause and whom the people trust. There are, of course, bad people in the democratic party, as in every party, and there are good people in the republican party; but this is of small political moment, because the bad do not control the democratic party, and the good do not control the republican party. If we doubt that, look at their doings. Some will favor establishing at Buffalo a new party, but wise men will pause twice ere they attempt this. A new party is not built up in a day. It would in all probability mean but one more division and one more *defeat*. The democratic is the only party that can carry the one hundred and thirty-three electoral votes of the south, and against that solid argument, all arguments for a new party fade away. The only other present reform party that can at all compare with the democratic party in strength is the people's party; but that party cannot give us the south, and without that we cannot win. If the people's party gain practically all its principles, surely it ought to allow the democratic party to have the name. It will be the greatest deed of the great people's party, if in giving its principles to the democratic party, it can also be great enough to lay down its life for the nation. Yet we do not advocate at present breaking up the people's party, or declaring for or against any party. Let us declare for measures, for union, and for the largest party that will accept the measures.

One word as to details. Let the Buffalo conference not adjourn; let it create a great Union Reform League, to carry out this policy. In it our present Union Reform League started in California, and we hope the Union Reform Party of Ohio, can merge themselves. Then let such a league go to work. Let it choose a representative national committee. Let it at Buffalo get, or commence getting, three hundred names of men who will each give one dollar a month, until November, 1900. With that sum the committee could put three organizers in the field, one in the east, one in the middle

states, one in the west. They, working on a common plan, could call out a movement that, by the end of this year, would have an organizer in every state. We suggest, also, that the league should organize in every state *exactly as if it were a political party*. Then if the new democratic party should not accept our measures, the league could immediately *become a party*, and, with its organization already formed, put a ticket in the field. This would give us all the advantages of organizing a new party now, without preventing our working through the democratic party if in 1900 it seem wise. Let us not make a new division unless we must. If the Buffalo conference will really declare for the above four measures, will unite for them through the largest party favoring them, and will then go to work in this way, in 1900 we can win direct legislation, public ownership, anti-imperialism, and free silver. Let us "unite or perish." We ask the men and women at Buffalo to consider this proposal, and tell us wherein it is impracticable, unwise, or wrong. If it is practicable, wise, and right, let us act.

W. D. P. BLISS.

Alhambra, Cal.

SOCIAL DEMOCRACY IN GERMANY.

IT is related in history that a certain school of religious thought, which in the present year of grace dominates civilization, was condemned to death by the Roman emperors during the first years of the Christian era, because its teachings had been adjudged subversive of public order and hostile to the political state. This sentence of death continued in force until one emperor of Rome discovered that the teachings of the new propaganda had affected the bulk of his army. It was at this moment in history that the blazonry of the cross led an armed host to victory, just as it had led thousands of brave men and women to a moral triumph over the brute forces of repression upon the bloody sands of imperial Rome.

History has repeated itself with startling accuracy of detail. The heavy hand of Bismarck was laid with pitiless weight upon a group of Germans who had been led to believe that the present social order, especially as exemplified in the German state, was an insult to human intelligence. The "Iron Chancellor" caused proscriptive legislation to be passed against the social democrats by a subservient reichstag on the plea that the new school sought the disruption of the state, the destruction of property, the dissolution of the family and the general annihilation of the entire social order. It is singular that Bismarck should not have anticipated the inevitable result of such a policy. With the exception of a slight reduction in the vote polled by the social democracy in 1878—the year in which Bismarck's law of terror went into effect—the new party continued to gain recruits at a rate that alarmed conservative Germans. The process which Bismarck had designed to crush the social democracy accomplished the unexpected result of crushing Bismarck himself. Kaiser Wilhelm II. observed that in the interval of twelve years during which the "law of exceptions" had been in effect, the strength of the social democracy had tripled, and the party disposed of nearly a million votes. Bismarck fell because he had committed the fatal error of assuming—as had been assumed by sundry pagan emperors, christian hierarchs, and unteachable Bourbons before him—that a moral movement can be suppressed by brute force.

Bismarck fell before the pressure of the social democracy; but Kaiser Wilhelm II. soon discovered that he had evoked the genii out of the jar. There could be no question of closing the jar. In 1893 the social democrats organized an opposition in the reichstag which fairly astounded the Kaiser by its tenacity and its force. The imperial government formulated a demand for an increase of one hundred thousand men in the army at an additional cost of sixty-nine million marks. The group of political outlaws whom Bismarck had hoped to annihilate with a stroke of the pen in 1878, stood up in the benches of parliament and attacked the imperial plans with

great strategy and daring. A scattering of radical elements joined in the cry of opposition, and the army bill was rejected.

The Kaiser was alarmed by the unyielding attitude of the social democrats, who had succeeded in striking so effective a blow at the most sensitive spot in the imperial system. During the next year the party was called upon to fight a battle for its existence, and won it by a series of brilliant moves and counter moves in the reichstag, which demonstrated convincingly that the group of dreamers who had been fascinated by the abstractions of Lassalle, had mastered all the devices of parliamentarism and of political procedure—that they had ceased to be theorizers, and had become fighters. In the session of 1894, Chancellor Hohenlohe, who is animated with a Bismarckian purpose of reaction without possessing more than a trace of the Bismarckian force, introduced into the reichstag a bill which contained rigorous anti-revolutionary provisions. It was aimed chiefly at the rights of working men to associate themselves for purposes of coöperation in politics. The Kaiser attempted to repeat the blunder which had cost the founder of Germany his chancellorship. But the reichstag proved obdurate. Even the quiet and docile Center — the largest individual party in the Reichstag, which is always ready to respond to the wishes of the emperor if its concession promises to extort a return favor for the catholic church—declined to acquiesce in the new plan of repression. The catholic party had been convinced by the serious attitude of the social democrats that sensational results were to be expected if the reichstag passed the law prohibiting the association of workingmen. The Kaiser's discomfiture was complete. The new "bill of exceptions" was defeated, thanks to the defections of the Centrists, and the social democratic party in the reichstag once more attracted the attention of unaffiliated workingmen by its uncompromising defense of the rights of the German proletariat.

The latest victory of the party occurred last March when, at its energetic insistence, the reichstag radically modified the Kaiser's demand for an increase in the armed forces

of the empire. In its original form the army bill provided for an increase of forty thousand men in the imperial army. The social democrats declared that no augmentation of the German army was called for by existing conditions—a contention which is justified amply by the fact that France, the traditional enemy of Germany, is absolutely debarred from any possible aggressive movement by the complete paralysis of the French war office, and by the additional circumstance that Germany is more conspicuously on a footing of friendship with the rest of the world than she has been at any other time since the historic salutation of "*Ave Imperator*" was first pronounced by Bismarck in the palace of Versailles. The Kaiser was convinced of the necessity for concessions to public sentiment, uttered by the lips of the social democrats. The minister of war declared that the government would content itself for the present with twenty-five thousand additional men. The Centrists were willing to accept this estimate; but the social democrats announced themselves fully prepared to defeat this measure should it be introduced into the reichstag. The government party was not prepared to risk another victory for the social democracy. The government was notified that it must reduce its estimate still further.

At this juncture occurred one of those coincidences that are full of strange and almost mysterious significance. The Kaiser, after declaring his solemn determination to dissolve the reichstag if his demands were not approved, departed for Karlsruhe to attend the formal entombment of Prince Bismarck. In the midst of the solemnities of the occasion a despatch reached the Kaiser from Berlin, informing him of the fact that the opposition, led by the social democrats, had placed the passage of the army bill in jeopardy, and that further concessions were imperative. The Kaiser yielded, almost at the moment when he beheld for the last time the bier of the man who had essayed to annihilate social democracy in Germany with a stroke of his pen!

A political battle in which the social democracy is profoundly interested is now going on in Germany. The agrari-

ans, or gentlemen farmers—the class in German political society that found its supreme development of brutal strength in Prince Bismarck—has discovered that if American agricultural products can be excluded from Germany, the price of German meats and cereals will rise considerably, to the corresponding enrichment of the *Junkerthum*. The gentlemen farmers choose to close their eyes to the fact that the exclusion of American products from Germany would result in serious hardships for the great proletariat which finds the prices of meats and cereals, even under the present conditions of comparatively free competition, altogether too high for the average workingman's purse. The notorious scarcity of meat at the tables of the German proletariat is a conspicuous commentary on the economic conditions that prevail in the German empire. Now the agrarians have devised a curious measure under the nomenclature of a "meat inspection bill," which places a number of restrictions upon the importation of American meats into Germany—restrictions that are virtually prohibitive in their severity. The *Junkerthum* is, in fact, trying to introduce into the German political system at this end of the century, a series of hardships for the great mass of the working people, which the English people refused to tolerate at a much earlier period in the progress of the world.

It will be interesting to note by just what methods and combinations the social democrats will defeat this latest attempt of the landed nobility to trade upon the necessities of the proletariat. It cannot be doubted, however, that the party will discover some means of asserting itself. The real strength of the social democracy in Germany is not to be measured adequately by the number of seats that are occupied by its representatives in the reichstag. One is in serious danger of being misled as to the real standing of the party if one considers merely the fact that it has 56 members in the reichstag out of a total of 397. These 56 social democratic members represent, it must be remembered, a vote of 2,120,000, or nearly 28 per cent. of the total vote cast in the election of 1898. The discrepancy is the result of a clever

manipulation of the voting districts, whereby the rapidly growing cities, which have hitherto furnished the vast bulk of social democratic representation, are allowed today precisely the same numerical strength in the reichstag that they had at the beginning of the federated existence of the empire, when the urban population was out of comparison with its present size. This increment of the cities has gravitated for the most part from the country districts. These latter have lost population enormously in comparison; but they are entitled to as many representatives as they had in the beginning. One of two things is destined to happen in the near future, which will have the effect of giving to the social democracy something like a clear majority: either the system of districts will be changed, so as to give the cities a representation in proportion to their population; or else the social democracy will enter upon an energetic campaign in the country districts. The latter alternative will involve some serious questions of party policy.

A section of the German social democracy regards with outspoken misgivings the tendency of the party to work along evolutionary lines, instead of adhering to the primitive doctrines of Lassalle. So far as the present day workings of the social democrats are concerned the party is essentially a party of evolution. It employs the instrument of parliamentarism with effectiveness and is content to await the day when the logic of events shall drive the existing system of capitalism to the wall, by depriving it consecutively of all motives for continuing its operations. An emphatic group of the party has no patience with parliamentarism, and declares that the social democracy must return to its earlier teachings. It is this difference of opinion that has given some apparent color to the prediction of the impending disruption of the party. This view of the destiny of the social democracy is combated most effectively by the Kaiser's attitude toward the party. The increasingly narrow construction of the laws of *lèse majesté* by the German courts, doubtless deriving their motives and their inspiration from the head of the German government, is a lucid and convinc-

ing betrayal of the fact that the Kaiser, at least, does not regard the social democracy as being on the eve of dissolution as a political party. In the absence of any special legislation against the social democrats, the German courts and the German police are taxing their ingenuity to construe existing laws in such a manner as to exert the greatest possible weight upon the social democracy. An unguarded comment, a shrug of the shoulders, a grimace, or a jest is construed by court and constables as an insult to the person of the Emperor, punishable by fine and imprisonment.

An attempt has lately been made to attack socialistic teachings at their source by depriving the universities of their time-honored rights of academic immunity. Men of learning are being shadowed by the police in the sanctuaries of the university lecture rooms, and the political soundness of candidates for academic preferment are being subjected to rigorous tests, all for the purpose of ensuring orthodoxy and guarding the youth of Germany from the blight of socialistic doctrines. In all this system of governmental precaution there is ample evidence for the contention that the Kaiser is convinced of the permanency of the socialistic agitation.

A difference of opinion is by no means a novel or unexampled development in the life of the German social democracy. A divergence of aims threw the party into temporary disorder after the Erfurt convention. The opposition, after making an unsuccessful effort to graft its revolutionary ideals upon the platform of the party, formally withdrew from the organization, and began a separate political existence as the group of the *Independents*. The seceders, after a variety of noisy tactics, lapsed into an insignificant faction which eventually declared its adherence to anarchism. Needless to say, at this point the *Independents* ceased to exert any effective influence upon politics, because their aims became incompatible with the existing mechanism of political life. On the other hand, the social democracy continued to grow in numbers and influence, until it has reached a position of absolute supremacy among the combative political elements in the German empire.

The present political and economic tendencies of Germany offer a strong guarantee for the continued activity of the social democrats. German commerce is advancing with enormous strides. The industrial system of Germany is infinitely greater, more complex, more far-reaching in its operations than it ever was before, and the workingman—the producer of manufactured articles as distinct from the tiller of the soil—is a much more conspicuous element in the political life of the empire in 1899 than he ever was before. If the battle of the social democrats against the existing industrial order in Germany is to be won by the factory hands, the material for the recruiting of the army of aggression is more plentiful than ever before. The small army of ants before which the political lion of the German empire fled roaring through the jungle, has become a tremendous multitude; and its organization is probably the most complete of its kind the world has even seen. It did not take the German social democracy long to discover that if it was to stand upon an approximately equal footing with its antagonist—an antagonist who has been perfecting a complex organization since industrialism began—it must work systematically. The result of this early discovery is to be seen in the fact that today the German social democracy has reached a complete arrangement of its offensive and defensive forces. It supports its publications, furnishes sustenance for its unpaid representatives in the Reichstag; defends its members when they are brought into court upon charges involving the party platform; and in most other respects acts as an enormous industrial corporation that has set before itself certain problems, and proceeds to their solution in a systematic, conscientious, and practical fashion. The social democrats prosecute their mission with energy as with calm reason. They employ personal pressure and avail themselves of political exigencies with a sagacity and a continuity of purpose that plainly disproves the contention that the party has reached the end of its corporate existence.

S. IVAN TONJOROFF.

Boston.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

I. NOW IN OPERATION.

MANY friends of direct legislation withhold their support of the measure, believing it inopportune to press the issue at this time. They seem to be lost in contemplation of a reform so radical in its character as to give every man a right to exercise the prerogatives of an elector unrestricted by the ties of party bondage, and free from the sting of the party lash. Discussion of the subject with the average elector almost invariably elicits the response, "I am heartily in favor of direct legislation when the time comes, but we are not quite ready for it."

In answer to this general objection I want to ask, were "the people" ready for self government when the Puritans, before they left the cabin of the Mayflower, entered into a "political compact" to obey all laws passed by them for their mutual benefit? Were the people ready for national independence when Franklin, Jefferson, Adams, Hancock, and others first began the agitation for freedom from monarchical rule? Were the people of the nation ready to abolish the institution of slavery when Lincoln and John Brown, and William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips first appeared in the forum as champions of human liberty? The lessons of the past demonstrated that great reforms intended to benefit and elevate the human family have to contend against prejudice, public sentiment, and political fidelity to party, regardless of the merits involved in the cause.

Is direct legislation practicable? has it been employed to the advantage of mankind anywhere on earth? are questions frequently asked by many honest men.

Direct legislation is employed throughout Switzerland, and the people have destroyed the power of the legislator to legislate for personal ends. They have made it easy at any time to alter or change their Federal Constitution, and have simpli-

fied their form of government. They hold their public officers responsible direct to their constituencies as servants, and do not permit them to be tools of corruptionists, who maintain an expensive lobby about the halls of the legislatures to buy men's souls and enslave the people through vicious legislation. They have defeated monopolies, improved the method of taxation, reduced the rate, avoided national scandals growing out of extravagances; they have husbanded the public domain for the benefit of their own citizenship; they have established home rule in every community; they have destroyed partisanship and established a government of the people; they have quieted disturbing political elements, disarmed the politician, enthroned the people; by the vote of the people they have assumed authority over the railroads, express companies, telegraphs, and telephones, reducing freight rates, express charges, and tolls, more than seventy-eight per cent. below the cost for like service under private control.

In our own country, direct legislation has been endorsed in thirty-eight state platforms. More than three thousand newspapers and magazines are advocating it as a primary reform. All labor organizations have adopted it as a part of the organic law for their government. The National Woman's Christian Temperance Union has unqualifiedly endorsed it, and many Catholic and Protestant societies have approved it. Constitutional amendments go direct to the people for a vote in every state but one.

In fifteen states, the location of the capitol cannot be changed by act of the legislature, but must go to the people direct. In seven states, banking institutions can only be organized by a vote of the people. In eleven states, no debts can be incurred except such as are provided for specifically in the several constitutions; in many states, "no rate of assessment exceeding a figure proportionate to the aggregate valuation of the taxable property" can be imposed without the consent of the people by a direct vote. Illinois cannot by legislative enactment sell its state canal; the state of Minnesota cannot pay any part of its debts incurred by the building

of the Minnesota railroad, or pay its interest, without first "referring" to the people. North Carolina cannot employ the credit of the state in aid of corporations or industrial enterprises without first submitting the proposition to the electors. By the vote of her people only could Colorado adopt woman suffrage, or create a debt for public buildings. The people of Texas can select a location for a college for colored youth. Wyoming cannot choose sites for state institutions until her electors first determine by vote where they shall be situated.

Mr. J. W. Sullivan, author of "A Manual of Direct Legislation," of which more than one hundred thousand copies have been circulated, tells me that there are many county, city, township, and school district referendums. Nineteen state constitutions guarantee to counties the right to fix by vote of the citizens the location of county seats; so also, usually, the location of county lines, divisions of counties and like matters. Several western states leave it to a vote of the counties as to when they shall adopt a township organization, with town meetings. Several states permit their cities to decide when they shall also be counties. In several states, there are debt and tax matters that may be passed on only by the people of the cities, boroughs, counties, or school districts.

Without the referendum, certain southern communities may not make harbor improvements, and other communities may not extend local credit to railroad, water transportation, and similar corporations. The prohibition of the liquor business in a city or county is often left to popular vote; indeed, "local option" is the commonest form of the referendum. In California, any city with more than ten thousand inhabitants may frame a charter for its own government, which, however, must be approved by the legislature. Under this law, Stockton, San José, Los Angeles, and Oakland have acquired new charters. In the state of Washington, cities of twenty thousand may make their own charters without the legislature having any power to vote. Largely, then, such cities make their own laws. The city of Bussey, Iowa, employed the

referendum in voting for a bond issue to establish an electric light plant. The city of Cincinnati, in refusing to sell the Cincinnati Southern Railroad, demonstrated the will of the people to be overwhelmingly opposed to the politician. After Boston had built a three and a half million dollar subway to take cars off one of her most crowded streets, the legislature of Massachusetts granted permission to the street car company to relay the recently torn up tracks; but a member put through a referendum amendment, and the people of the city, not "country members," will eventually decide the matter. The city of Duluth, Minnesota, made a practical test of the referendum in voting for the issue of bonds to build a water plant, in opposition to a private plant already in operation. Milwaukee and Detroit have made remarkable strides in fighting monopolies and corruption, through the vote of the people.

In Ohio, the referendum is employed by municipal corporations in voting for improvement of streets, sidewalks, for bond issues, for sewerage, electric lighting, etc. With this form of the referendum, our people are already familiar. They have witnessed the people going to the polls, and voting on a measure of common interest, partisanship having no part in the contest, politicians being ignored; the good of the community being the only motive.

The platform of the Union Reform party recently formed at Springfield, O., contemplates the extending of this system to state and national affairs. It means to give the people the right to declare what burdens of government they shall bear, instead of being bound through unscrupulous and unprincipled politicians to the money power that now controls the legislation of states and nations.

A. A. BROWN.

Cincinnati.

II.—OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

I want at the outset of this article to present three definitions of fundamental importance :

“DIRECT LEGISLATION. — Lawmaking by the voters.

“THE INITIATIVE. — The proposal of a law by a percentage of the voters, which must then go to the Referendum.

“THE REFERENDUM. — The vote at the polls on a law proposed through the Initiative, or on any law passed by a lawmaking body, reference of which is petitioned for by a percentage of the voters.

There is one class of objectors to direct legislation whom I do not expect to satisfy. Those who expect a perfect system, embracing all sides of life, a Utopia which will work itself, without human effort, a system under which mistakes are impossible, will not find it in direct legislation ; nor anywhere else that I know of. For the objector who says : “I will not have anything to do with direct legislation because it won't always do justice, because it won't directly give the workless man work, because it won't directly abolish the saloon, relieve the destitute, etc.,” I have no answer. He had better not waste time reading this article, but continue his search for the impossible. I wish those to read this article who are looking for a definite remedy for a definite evil, one of the greatest group of evils of our time, legislative corruption and foolishness and popular ignorance and apathy.

All the objections to direct legislation may be embraced under three heads :

1. Fear of the people.
2. That direct legislation is impracticable.
3. The anarchistic objection that we do not want any laws at all, but should do away with them all so as to secure complete freedom.

The man who makes the first objection, always makes it about others than himself and his class. He is fitted to take care of his own affairs, and he and his class are fitted to take care of the government. It is thus a question of individual and class pride. What he wishes for himself — the care of his own individual affairs and a share with others of his class in the government of all — he is unwilling to give to those outside his class. He is intolerant, a species of political bigot. He thinks that we should have a paternal and coddling government by those in his class over those not in his class. What he who fears the people really wishes to discuss is not the question of direct legislation, but the limitation of the franchise.

"People are apathetic and will not vote. A principle has to be dramatized in a man, be personified in a person, before the people will really consider it." Suppose this to be true, what happens? Those who are interested in a measure vote for it. There is thus an automatic selection of those best posted and most interested; hence a better decision. I would have all interested, posted, and vote at every election, but if they are not interested and posted they had better not vote.

Then will the apathy of the people equal the apathy of our present lawmakers concerning vital issues? Legislatures smother, dodge, and avoid vital questions. Some legislator may create an opposition which will limit his popularity and hinder his re-election if he tackles a burning issue. The mere statement of this question is sufficient for its negative answer, by those who know anything of the workings of our lawmaking bodies.

But there is no apathy among the people on a really vital question. As long as the referendums come down from above and are sporadic and occasional, just so long will legislatures make frequent mistakes as to what is a vital question. But when they come up from below and are a regular function of government, then will arise the vital questions in which the people are interested. This is shown

by the fact that in Massachusetts, where they have yearly municipal referendums on the question of license or no license, the vote is very frequently larger than that for candidates.

Thus the answers to the fear of the people because they are apathetic are that, supposing it is so, it means a vote of the interested and best posted, that it will always be less on vital questions than the apathy of the legislatures, and, third, that on vital questions, the people are not apathetic.

The second reason for fear of the people is that they are foolish, ignorant, and cannot wisely decide intricate questions of administration or policy. They say that when a man is sick he hires a doctor who has studied diseases and had experience in their treatments; that when he has litigation he hires a lawyer and takes counsel with and from him. This is just what we will do under direct legislation. We will elect our advisers and counselors. Our present system is like a broker managing a blind pool; his clients confide their interests to him not knowing what he is going to do. This is an entirely different thing from the rôle of a counselor. It is true that experts and students may know how best to accomplish a given end, but it is not true that they know best what ends to accomplish. A man would be a fool who would turn over all his affairs to a lawyer with complete power to do as the lawyer liked for two years. But that is just what we do with our legislative bodies. The best class of lawyers will advise a course, but they always leave the decision to the client.

Under our present system of choosing representatives who have sole power of making laws, the people have to choose the men. Under direct legislation they would choose the measures. Which is easier, to delve into the record and heart of a man and determine not only that he is well-intentioned, but also that he is wise on these questions, or to read and understand the terms of a law for some purpose and decide whether that purpose is wise and right, and whether the law is a proper carrying out of that purpose?

Another reason given for fear of the people is that they are impulsive and will be rash and hasty. This is the opposite of the first, that they are apathetic. The people will be impulsive at times ; but far less so than legislative bodies, which every now and then are swept by gusts of passion and folly. The reason for this lies on the surface. The larger a body, the harder is it to arouse and move it. When the whole people consult and vote on a measure, there is first the agitation of getting petitions signed and filed, then the discussion in the legislature and before the people, and the time which must elapse before a vote is taken. These all repress impulsive, hasty action. In fact, so strong is this tendency that many people urge the reverse as a fault of direct legislation, that it will be a drag on progress. The fact is that it will be a drag on progress when the tendency to advance is too strong, but it will be a spur to progress when the social movement is too sluggish. Under it, as in Switzerland, the power of the government vibrates slowly between the progressives and the conservatives, between those who want to go ahead rapidly and those who wish to hold back. Both the radical conservatives and the radical progressives are often dissatisfied with it, but the great mass of the people are thoroughly satisfied with it.

Others say the people will be called on to vote so often that it will take all their time. Such objectors overlook the great decrease in number of laws passed, as I will show later in this article. It is also objected that under the optional referendum, which alone is advocated in this country, every law is not submitted to the people, but only those petitioned for, so that only important laws would be submitted, and these are few. Lastly, the expense, supposing all that is said about it is true, will not be one tenth of what the indirect expense to the people is now, through the errors and the sales of franchises during one session of the legislature.

Others say the people will follow the regular party leaders. Such is not the case either in Switzerland or here, where the results show great independence of party in voting on meas-

ures. For instance, a Republican legislature in California recently submitted six constitutional amendments. Three were accepted, three rejected, and the Republicans returned to office. In Nebraska, the Republicans submitted twelve amendments, all of which had a majority, and the Republicans were beaten. In Massachusetts, the Republicans submitted two amendments, which were both lost, yet the Republicans were returned.

"The people are corrupt, and can be bought." I do not believe it. At heart the people are sound. But suppose they are corrupt. They will have to be not only knaves but fools also; they must be bought to do something contrary to their own interests; and it will not pay the power which buys them to pay the voters more than it is worth, else that power would be a fool; and it will not pay the voter to sell out for less than it is worth, else he also would be a fool. It is easy to give to each of a majority of one hundred representatives far less than a small percentage of the value of some franchise, to far more than counterbalance the direct personal injury which the giving away of that franchise will occasion him personally. But if you start to corrupt the voters, each will have to receive more than the direct personal loss to him, and that will be more than it is worth to the buyer.

"The people will be tyrannical." As one man puts it: "Populous portions of the country will legislate in their own interests to the detriment of sparsely populated sections, particularly in the matter of public improvements." I am afraid that this would occasionally happen at first, but it would be much less than under the present system. This is a serious evil now. Under direct legislation it would gradually be cured for two reasons: (1) The mass of the people are swayed by great general principles of equity and justice; a small body, by questions of expediency and a dominant personality. The larger the body which decides, the larger, more simple and general will be the principles on which they decide. (2) Direct legislation will gradually bring

about, as it has in Switzerland, a decentralization of power. Many things which are now done by the nation will then be done by the state, many more things which are now done by the state or nation, will then be done by the municipality or county, and many things which are done by the municipality or county will then be relegated to the ward, parish, or township. When a thing comes up which concerns only the cities in a state, such as the passing of a charter to govern a city, the people will see that as long as city charters conform to certain fundamental principles in the state constitution, the people of one city or of the country have no right to say what the charter or laws of another city should be. That alone concerns the city itself. It is absurd and unjust that the charter governing New York City should have been made at Albany by a body of men, the majority of whom have no interest in, nor special knowledge of, its needs.

2 The second class of objections to direct legislation is that it is impracticable. This objection has been made to the Australian ballot, the abolition of slavery, popular government; in fact, to every reform. Happily for direct legislation, there is a very full and explicit answer. It is already in successful operation. The New England town meeting, which is older than our national government, is the most direct form of direct legislation. It has the approval of the keenest political observers of the century, and, what is better, the men who operate it would not give it up under any considerations; and it is extending to other states. The country part of New England has better roads, and schools, and more public libraries, water works, etc., than the country part of any other section of the United States, and a smaller debt either per capita or per acre. Direct legislation in that field is an emphatic success.

It is resorted to sporadically in many municipal matters. Local option is only the application of the referendum to the liquor question, and under it an actually enforced prohibition has spread over many of the southern states, and in some states, such as Massachusetts, yearly referendums

are held on this subject with admirable results. The same method is used regarding school and other questions in various states. This is not an argument, but a fact for those who say it cannot be done.

State affairs are being referred to the people more and more, and constitutions are enlarging in scope and size. This is a crude and awkward form of direct legislation, as many of our constitutions are becoming codes of laws enacted by the people, instead of bills of fundamental rights, such as were the early ones. The fundamental law of the land, the constitutions, state and national, are formed by the referendum. Is not that method good enough for the minor laws, the statute laws?

Again, direct legislation has been used for years, and is now being used by the trades unions and other organizations with eminent success. They are deciding many and complex questions by it, with, at times, a membership extending into hundreds of thousands, scattered all over this country and Canada. It is thus even international in its operation. It is used among the trades unions of Great Britain, and to some extent in other European countries. These are facts which the man who says it is impracticable either does not know, or ignores.

In Canada we find it used extensively in local matters. In England many local questions are decided by it, and the number of these is increasing. The referendum effect of the rejection of a bill by the House of Lords has been repeatedly pointed out. France, Belgium, Holland, Germany, and Austria use it in many local affairs in about the order named, and in France its use in local affairs is rapidly increasing. It is even occasionally used in Italy and Spain. In Australia and New Zealand it has always been used locally, and that use is increasing. In New Zealand there are triennial referendums on the liquor and land tax questions, and in the other colonies on those and other questions. There is an influential and growing party in almost every Australian colony, who favor its complete extension to all the affairs of the colony.

But for the completest refutation of the statement that it is impracticable, we turn to Switzerland. No more unfavorable spot could be selected for its trial. It is a nation separated from other nations, not by boundaries of geography or of race, language, religion, former government or conditions; but a nation formed and built around a government, and the corner stone and the crown of that government is direct legislation.

Direct legislation, taking its first great impulse from the almost universal European democratic movement of 1848 and 1850, but taking its direction from the democratic habits and customs of the mountain cantons and the democratic tendencies of many of its cities, began to effectuate itself in the '60s. It began first in the cantons, and it was not till 1874 that the referendum became the fixed and universally applicable law in national matters in Switzerland, though there had been isolated national referendums previously, and the initiative was not adopted in national matters till 1891. Zurich was the first to adopt it in a complete form in 1867. Since the '60s it has been continually extending to hitherto unoccupied fields of government. The city of Geneva only adopted a partial form within the last two or three years. Often at first it was tried tentatively regarding a few things, but ever its scope has been extended wider and wider, and the laws regulating it have been made stricter. Thus the movement is from the optional referendum, under which a petition for its submission is required before any law is submitted to a vote, to the obligatory referendum, under which all laws must be submitted to the people. Berne and Zurich have had this obligatory referendum for a score of years, and other cantons have had it regarding certain laws. We have the obligatory referendum in the United States regarding all constitutional amendments, save in one state — Delaware. It has been stated of Switzerland that no law relative to direct legislation has been amended or repealed without placing a stronger one where it had stood. It has made of them a nation which spends less per capita on the

army and more on education than any European nation. In Switzerland there are no millionaires and no paupers. From it there is practically no emigration, though from surrounding countries, similar in race and language, the emigration is large. Though there was governmental corruption before direct legislation was adopted, that is now a thing of the past. While the world tendency is to centralize our governmental and other powers, direct legislation has produced the opposite action in Switzerland. It has forced a decentralization of power and has fostered a healthy local independence of feeling and a desire that each canton, city, and commune should attend to its own affairs as much as possible. By remitting to localities as much as possible all local affairs, it has obviated an unseemly clashing between authorities, and yet when the nation has spoken out, that voice has been almost universally accepted as decisive. By referring to each locality its own affairs, it has settled most of the violent clashings of labor and capital. An employer knows that if he is unjust to his men they can and will retaliate in voting. Its labor laws are in advance of the world, as its educational system is one of the finest.

3 The third and final class of objections to direct legislation is that in order to have perfect freedom we should do away with all laws, that man should be governed entirely from within, that when we have reformed the individual man and made all his motives pure and honorable, we will then need no laws, but each will be a law unto himself; that we have far too many laws at present.

There is temporarily a partial truth in this. At present we do have far too many laws. Scientists tell us that the lower down we go in the scale of living creatures, the larger is the birth rate, the greater the productivity, and, of course, the greater the death rate, and the higher we go the less the productivity. In the last United States Congress, twenty-four thousand measures were introduced; at the winter sessions of the Swiss Federal Congress of 1896-97, sixty-five measures were introduced and twenty-five passed. The New

York Legislature of 1897 passed seven hundred and forty-seven laws, and for the twelve years from 1874 to 1885 it passed six thousand four hundred and twenty-four laws, or an average of five hundred and thirty-five laws a year. The cantons of Berne and Zurich in Switzerland, during the last twenty years, have each passed less than one hundred laws, or an average of less than five laws a year. The one is the vast productivity of a low organism whose offspring are weak; and most of them useless and destroyed. The other is the high organism whose offspring are few, highly developed; and most of them live.

The anarchist and I will agree that at least three-fourths and perhaps more of our laws are useless and often worse. He is for the time partially right. But when he says that all laws should be abolished, he is wrong. Laws are the expression of the social consciousness and will, and proper laws are the discovery of the method of social growth. They are not, when fit and proper, limitations of freedom, but a broadening of the capabilities of free action. They do not so much limit as enlarge our freedom. We should aim to get above the law and not do without it, save as we do not need it. As we do that we will find it a potent condition by which newer and finer and larger freedoms are opened to us.

Fit laws are the voicing of the everlasting method of social growth by the awakening social consciousness and will. The framing and enactment of them demands the greatest care, judgment and insight as one of the highest, if not the highest of social functions. When enacted, they should be revered and obeyed till changed in the same careful manner. Direct legislation provides this deliberation, care, and insight better than does any other system and it declares that the laws shall really voice the will of the people.

ELTWEED POMEROY.

Newark, N. J.

UNION REFORM LEAGUE ACTIVITIES.

CONTRIBUTED BY REV. W. D. P. BLISS, PRESIDENT
OF THE LEAGUE.

THE platform of the League for this year is as follows :

1. Direct legislation, including the initiative and referendum, to be applied to important measures.
2. Civil service reform in all departments of public service.
3. Reform in the system of political nominations, to give the people an opportunity to nominate directly.
4. Exemption from taxation of personal property and improvements on real estate up to a valuation of \$1,000, and provisions for a progressive inheritance tax.
5. The issue of money to be a sovereign act of government only.
6. Extension of the postal system so as to include postal savings banks, postal package express, and postal telegraph.
7. Public ownership and operation of natural monopolies, and the abolition of the contract system on all public works.
8. Employment on needed public works of those actually unable to secure work elsewhere.
9. The gradual reduction, by legal enactment, of the hours of labor, and limiting the age at which children may be employed.

Besides the annual referendum to choose the national officers and platform for the year, the League holds such occasional referendums as developments may require. At present the League is holding a referendum as to what should be the political policy decided upon at the Buffalo conference. A sixteen-page pamphlet has been printed, outlining a proposed policy, and has been sent out to the members for a year or nay vote. Its contents form the basis of an article in this number of *The Arena*, by the president of the League.

The officers of the League for this year are as follows :

PRESIDENT.
Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, Alhambra, Cal.

VICE-PRESIDENTS.
The Rt. Rev. F. D. Huntington,
Syracuse, N. Y.

Gov. H. S. Pingree, of Michigan.
Prof. George D. Herron, Grinnell,
Iowa.
William Dean Howells, New York
City.

Prof. Frank Parsons, Boston, Mass.
 Senator R. F. Pettigrew, S. Dakota.
 Gov. Chas. S. Thomas, Denver, Col.
 Dr. C. F. Taylor, Philadelphia, Pa.
 Mayor S. M. Jones, Toledo, Ohio.
 Prest. T. E. Will, Manhattan, Kan.
 Prest. Geo. A. Gates, Grinnell, Ia.
 Eltwed Pomeroy, Newark, N. J.
 Frederick U. Adams, N. Y. City.
 Mrs. N. T. Maynard, Salt Lake
 City, Utah.
 Herbert N. Casson, N. Y. City.

Dr. J. R. Haynes, Los Angeles, Cal.
 G. H. Gibson, Commonwealth, Ga.
 Rev. F. N. Sprague, Tampa, Fla.
 Griffith Davis, Seattle, Washington.
 Paul Tyner, Boston, Mass.

SECRETARY.

Wm. H. Knight, 27 Bryson Block,
 Los Angeles, Cal.

TREASURER.

Frederick D. Jones, 226 W. First
 St., Los Angeles, Cal.

The Union Reform League was organized in San Francisco in September, 1898. Mr. Paul Tyner was its first president. It is now spreading over the United States. Its objects are twofold:

(A) To unite the reform forces of the United States in a strong league for those measures on which they agree, while yet preserving the separate freedom and distinctive work of the various organizations and movements, in their different fields.

(B) To develop a wide-spread movement through the press and in other ways, to educate the public upon the measures the reform forces agree upon.

Its methods of uniting the reform forces are enrolling a membership over the whole country, and obtaining a consensus of the opinion of its members upon the important questions of the day through referendum votes. Once each year it conducts a referendum to elect its national officers and determine upon its platform for the year, the platform consisting of those measures which its members believe the reform forces should unite upon. Each year, therefore, the platform represents what the majority believe to be for that year the dominant issues. The educational work of the League is conducted in two departments. The work of these departments is described by its secretary as follows:

DEPARTMENT B—TRACTS.

OPEN TO ALL MEMBERS PAYING 50 CENTS PER YEAR.

There is need in this country of good cheap tracts, like the Fabian tracts of England. A series has been arranged for, one on each plank of

the above platform and one or more general ones, to appear in The Arena (8 pages), and then to be sent out as tracts. They are being prepared by Prof. Commons, of Syracuse University; Prof. Frank Parsons, of Boston University; President Will, of Kansas State Agricultural College; Prof. E. W. Bemis, of the same college, formerly of Chicago University; Dr. Charles B. Spahr, of The Outlook, and lecturer at Columbia University; Paul Tyner of The Arena; Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, President of the League; Eltwed Pomeroy, President of the Direct Legislation League; the Hon. R. A. Dague, of California; James L. Cowles, of the American Postal League. Ten of these to any address for 50 cents.

DEPARTMENT C—EDUCATION.

IN CHARGE OF THE ABOVE-NAMED PROFESSORS AND WRITERS.

To all sending \$1.00, will be sent *besides* the above ten tracts a set of larger studies on subjects connected with the League, to form a basis of study.

With each tract will be offered references for further reading and questions to be looked up. All who desire, are invited to prepare papers on the questions or points involved, to be sent to the Secretary of the League, who will refer it to the proper members of the Educational Committee to be reviewed, corrected, and returned to the student. Any questions also will be answered. The best papers, if brief, will be published in some journal or magazine. This department thus presents opportunity under competent guidance for study of the living questions of the day. It is recommended that home circles be formed for such study. To each person obtaining 12 members at \$1.00 each, will be sent a copy of *Bliss' Encyclopedia of Social Reform*, 1437 pp. two columns (\$7.50 cloth) affording matter for reading and study equal to a library of 15 books of 150 pages each, covering the whole ground of social reform and with the articles prepared by the best writers. It is in use in all libraries and colleges.

Membership is open to any who accept its precepts; and in the educational department (without a vote) to those who desire simply to follow its studies. The cost of membership is, in Department A, entitling simply to vote in its referendum, twenty-five cents the year. In Department B, entitling to the foregoing and twelve pamphlets, fifty cents the year. In Department C, entitling to the foregoing and also larger studies, one dollar the year. Those who prefer can join the League (in Department D) by subscribing, *through the League*, for some reform journal.

All interested in social reform are invited to join the League

in some department and so develop a wide, strong, national educational and reform movement. Address all letters and remittances to the secretary, W. H. Knight, 27 Bryson Block, Los Angeles, California.

W. D. P. BLISS.

Alhambra, Cal.

UNDER THE MINARET.

THE Padishah* knows best.

To know the real Turk, one must penetrate into the interior of Asia Minor, where he will see the genuine Mussulman, with his white or green turban, as the case may be; with his yataghan and a pair of antiquated pistols of enormous size in his belt, carrying a long chibouk instead of a cane; serious, silent, and dignified, walking leisurely towards his favorite coffee house, to chat with his friends and to say his prayers.

When the Muezzin cries, if it be summer, he will go to the fountain of the garden, bare his head, arms, and feet, and make his ablutions, perfectly indifferent to the fact that the garden is crowded with customers. Then he will spread his jacket on the ground instead of a prayer rug, and will prostrate himself toward Mecca. This duty done, you will see him resume his chibouk, or narghilé, with the greatest possible dignity and unconcern.

It was winter time in Broussa—the winter time of 183—. Men had not yet ceased to talk of the finding of the Goddess in Melos a few years gone. How long she had lain entombed in the ruins of her temple! And she had been brought to life only to be ravished by the *giaours*—carried away to a city of the unbelieving Occident to become the adored one of the world of true hearts, and the despair of all who would

* Sultan, king, emperor, ruler.

fashion from her another goddess—a goddess for a groveling today as she had been the goddess of a glorious yesterday! Ah, those desecrating hands that, while they were thrust forward to implore the care of her tender, immortalized flesh, yet dared to make of her a contention; nay, more, had sought her with a violence that tore her limb from limb and had borne her forth into an unbeautiful world to be a lamentation to the devotee and a Sphinx to the curious. Her arms bore no gifts, and her lips were too proud to tell her mission to those who had violated her; but the Faithful were still faithful: and surely, some day, Allah would take vengeance! And the Golden Glory that her hand had held forth to all the world of the fathers; that had shone upon the foundation walls of Melos even when they sank beneath the azure Ægean; that had risen again to be a sign to all the earth of Life and Love; that had felt the contentious force of heathen hands that vaunted cherishment while they lusted for possession; the Golden Glory of *her* dear hand—where was IT?

In the coffee house of Broussa the evening customers were sitting around the room, knees-a-kimbo, on low-cushioned divans, their shoes on the floor. The costumes of the men were as varied as their features. Here were Persians with their tall caftans and long beards; fierce-looking Kurds, dark and uncouth, carrying a whole arsenal in their leathern belts; Circassians with their picturesque costumes and the indispensable rows of cartridges fastened on the fronts of their coats; merchants from Sampsoun and Sinope, peaceful looking fellows carrying strings of amber beads, which they transferred from one hand to the other by way of pastime; the Turkish Spahi, his cavalry outfit of musket, scimeter and dagger gleaming dangerously against the gaudy, speckled coat of the water carrier with his bronzed face, his thick legs laced with strong leathern straps; and the Persian singer whose eyes are upon the far-off that only his own soul can utter. Through the glass window a minaret with a single balcony could be seen in the moonlit distance, giving a dreamy look to the sur-

rounding scenery, typically Oriental from the fact that a Turkish cemetery was close by, with its tall cypress trees rising like shadows from the ground, their graceful, pointed tops waving gently in the night breeze.

Profound silence reigned now in the café as the faces of its customers turned towards a man who entered the coffee house ; a tall man, whose gait as he entered focused all eyes upon him. As he came in, the stranger glanced, with piercing eye, through the café's small window, at its pictured view of the wondrous shaft of light that arose upon the night heavens—the minaret seen against the great moon-marbled cover of the world. Then he withdrew a little from the ring of clamor.

His green tunic, his long blue mantle and scarlet trousers proclaimed him a Bosniac. But why this sash of yellow silk ? Why these boots of golden leather ? The sash and slippers of the loyal Bosniac, who knows that "The Padishah knows best" are invariably scarlet. Through the stranger's yellow girdle was stuck the Bosnian sword ; but the coffee house saw the handle of a dagger as the stranger stretched out his right arm for his sixth cup of the dark liquid—the genius of dreams and of theological disputes, the joy alike, through the centuries, of the Greek Christian father, and the Grand Vizier at the bath.

"He hasn't unclined that left hand of his once since he entered the place," whispered the Persian singer, turning to an old Jew-faced man seated next him, who was steadily eyeing the stranger from under his bushy gray eyebrows. "And his right hand is as shapely as a Sultana's. I swear by the eyelash of Mahomet that in that left hand of his he holds either one of the fire-seeds of Creation with which Allah sowed the stars, or —"

"Or the heart of his sweetest foe," said the Turkish Spahi, anointing with restless tongue his thin streak of blood-red lips.

"Or the key to the springs of the Sweet Waters of Asia," laughed the water carrier.

The hubbub of whisper grew into open comment around the whole circle.

"Stranger," called out the Spahi, running his finger leisurely up and down the long glitter of his sword, "Stranger! Tell us a story." Then, turning to his companion, "As he gesticulates, he'll open that left hand of his quite naturally." The old Jew's gaze had never left the stranger's burning eyes that rested now upon his left hand, and now upon the minaret, seen through the window of the café.

"A story, stranger," echoed the whole circle.

Stretching out his right hand for the chibouk that rested against the divan, and blowing three or four rings of smoke into the air, the stranger bowed his head, and smiled curiously. He began slowly:

"A Turkish dignitary went to visit a town for the purpose of collecting the taxes. The inhabitants of the neighboring village, fearing a similar visit, decided to send him a present, and after much discussion they came to the conclusion that a roast goose would be just the thing. One of their number was to carry it to the Aga.*

"The peasant messenger started with the fowl, the delicious odor of which, as it diffused in the open air, excited his appetite. Unable to resist the temptation, he stopped in the middle of the road, carved one of the legs from the goose, ate it with much relish, and turning it over in the dish he took it to the Aga.

"'What have you there?' that dignitary asked.

"'A fine roast goose, Aga, with the compliments of our villagers.'

"'Thanks,' said the Aga. 'You shall stay and dine with me.' He placed the goose in front of him and started to carve it. Then he noticed that one of the legs was missing.

"'How is this?' said the Aga. 'What has become of the other leg?'

"'The geese of our village, Aga, have but one leg.'

"'You must prove that to me,' said the Aga.

*A chief dignitary.

" 'Certainly,' answered the peasant. 'If you please, sir, we will go down to the village after dinner, and Your Highness will see with your own eyes that I tell the truth.'

"They went; and sure enough a lot of geese were sunning themselves on the brink of the water in their favorite posture, having one of their legs under the wing.

" 'There !' said the peasant triumphantly. 'You can see now that they have but one leg.'

"The Aga drew his pistol and fired at the geese, who immediately started to fly, both of their legs hanging.

" 'Now, you liar,' said the Aga. 'Don't you see that they have two legs?'

" 'Aga,' answered the peasant, 'if that pistol were fired at you from such close quarters, you would run not merely with two, but with four legs.' "

A storm of hand-clappings greeted the humor of the reciter. The titter grew from a chuckle into guffaws of laughter, as the men slapped their own legs with a wink at one another and a nudge. The coffee house was in an uproar. Alone the face of the Spahi never relaxed into a smile. His chin sank lower into his embroidered collar as he watched the stranger.

"Give us another joke, stranger,—come to us by the mercy of Allah," shouted one of the noisy crowd in the coffee house. "You have another hidden in the folds of that forehead. I swear by the beard of the Prophet."

The tall stranger passed his hand across his brow—a brow strangely wrinkled for such young and burning eyes. He resumed slowly :

"A peasant went to a neighbor to borrow his donkey. The man answered that he was sorry, but the donkey was out.

"At that moment the donkey, perhaps to give the lie to his master for overworking him, brayed from the stable.

" 'Oh, you liar,' said the peasant. 'Don't you hear? The donkey is down there.'

" 'Look' here, friend,' said the other. 'Do you mean to say that you would rather believe the donkey than me?'

"We believe in you, donkey or no donkey," was the shout with which the last words were greeted. The Spahi's set jaw relaxed into a smile. "The Padishah's jester himself could not have done better," he said muttering to himself.

"You are all aware, are you not," answered the stranger, now stepping out more confidently nearer to the circle, his left fingers again tightening upon his large rounded left palm, "that the Padishah goes often incognito among the lower classes of his subjects to hear and see what they are doing? The Padishah knows best. There is a story that a Sultan went to the suburbs of Constantinople, dressed like an ordinary person, and after wandering for some time, he finally knocked at the door of a peasant's hut. The peasant appeared.

"What do you want, friend?" said he.

"I am a stranger here," said the Sultan, "and want something to eat."

"Come in," said the peasant pleasantly. "You are welcome to share our meal." And they all sat down round a low table. The family was quite numerous. The peasant placed the Sultan on his left, and taking an immense loaf of bread he began to cut it in enormous slices.

"Why do you cut so much bread?" asked the Sultan. The peasant turned around, and facing the Sultan, administered to him a sound slap in the face. "You came here to eat," said he, "and not to make remarks. Don't you see how many mouths are to be fed from this loaf?" The Sultan said nothing, and proceeded quietly with his meal. The peasant was very attentive to his guest, who seemed to have forgotten all about the slap. When he rose to go he offered to pay for the meal, but the peasant flatly refused.

"It was Allah, who sent you to us," said he, "Allah be praised."

"I live in Stamboul," said the Sultan. "If you ever come there, you must come and see me."

"What is your name?" asked the peasant.

"‘I will write it on this piece of paper,’ said the Sultan. ‘Come and see me,’ handing him the paper. Then he left.

"Some time after, the peasant one morning told his wife he would go to Stamboul to see his friend. So he went. He had the Sultan’s card in his pocket. When he reached the gates of the city, he showed it to the first person he met, as he could not read.

"‘Why, you fool,’ said the man, ‘this is the name of the Sultan.’

"‘I don’t care whose name it is,’ answered the peasant. ‘My friend told me to come and see him if I came to Stamboul, and here I am. Where is his house?’

"‘There, that big house yonder,’ said the man pointing to the Sultan’s palace.

"Thither the peasant went; but when he attempted to pass the gate, he was stopped by a sentry, who asked him his business.

"‘I have come to see my friend, who lives in this house,’ he answered. ‘Here is his name,’ and he showed the Sultan’s card. ‘Now let me pass.’

"‘Not much,’ said the sentinel. ‘Go about your business.’

"But the peasant was stubborn. He would not go, and seemed likely to create a disturbance by his vociferous protestations.

"The clamor reached the Sultan’s ears, and he sent to know what the trouble was.

"‘There is a peasant at the door, who insists upon seeing Your Majesty, and claims to be your friend.’

"‘Show him up,’ said the Sultan.

"His Majesty recognized immediately the peasant who had offered to him hospitality, and the slap in the face. ‘Glad to see you,’ he said pleasantly. ‘You shall stay and dine with me today.’

"He placed his guest on his left. Next to the peasant sat the Grand Vizier; then the dignitaries of the empire. The peasant had a ravenous appetite, but he went on eating without uttering a single word. The Sultan watched him

closely. He was evidently waiting for some remark from the peasant, so that he might return the slap. But the peasant gave him no such opportunity, continuing to eat in silence. The meal was drawing to a close.

"The Sultan finally grew impatient, and seeing that his guest would give him no chance to repay the compliment, he turned around suddenly, and gave the fellow a good slap in the face. The latter did not show the least surprise. He simply turned towards his neighbor, who, as I have said, was the Grand Vizier, and administered to that dignitary a sound slap in the face, adding with a wave of the hand '*Sur-git-sin*'—Let it go 'round.

"The peasant left the palace loaded with presents, and I tell you the Sultan enjoyed the joke immensely."

A silence like the silence of death fell upon the coffee house. No ripple of laughter shook the sudden pause. The men held their chibouks untasted in their right hands, while their left hands closed in curiously unconscious imitations of the figure before them. With lips apart, they stared at the stranger, who had withdrawn again into the shadowed corner, and whose gaze rested again upon the minaret, seen through the moonlit window.

"Can it be the Padishah himself comes among us," cried one of the circle in a hoarse whisper, half rising and stretching out his right hand.

"Hush—sh!" murmured the circle. "If it be, thou art a fool. If it be not, thou art likewise a fool. Perhaps it is the peasant fellow who has the very ear of the Sultan. Hush—sh! let's give him a chance to open that left hand."

"Stranger, how dost thou know about the inner lining of the Sultan's life?" cried the Spahi, starting to his feet.

The stranger came forward with the great stride, and holding the glances of the entire circle, said in a melodious but penetrating voice:

"Listen:

"Three liars had just finished supper in the house of one of them. But a pie was left over, and they decided that it

should be eaten next morning by the man who would have had the most startling dream that night.

"They met next morning.

" 'I dreamed,' said the first, 'that I went up to the seventh heaven.' 'That is nothing,' answered the second. 'I dreamed that I went down to the very center of the earth.'

" 'Both of you tell the truth,' exclaimed the third. 'I saw you, Mustapha, going up to the seventh heaven, and you, Ali, going down to the center of the earth, and so I said to myself, Heaven knows when these fellows will come back. The pie will be spoiled by that time. So I ate it myself. See!' and he produced the empty plate."

But as the stranger stood immovable in the center of the room, it was not upon those two steady eagle eyes of his that the eyes of the coffee house circle were now focused, but upon the water carrier, who had come forward and had thrown himself at the stranger's feet.

In his hand was the plate the stranger talked of!

The stranger's left hand tightened quickly. Amid the hoarse shouts from all parts of the coffee house, you could not hear his voice. The men started to their feet. But the right hand of the stranger motioned them back. The water carrier had left the room, and now, amidst the painful silence as the eyes of the café followed him, the voice of the owner of the Bosnian dagger began:

"Listen—"

"You shall open that left hand of yours, or ——" thundered the coffee house with an oath. Alone, the Persian singer did not join in the uproar. He slowly began to finger his lute, his eyes riveted upon the face of the stranger. "You shall open that left hand of yours," again yelled the Spahi.

For answer, the stranger turned to the Persian poet. "Sing to me," he said with a curious smile, his burning eyes ranging from the unopened left hand, to the moonlit minaret off there through the window, and back again to the Persian's face. The young man's impassioned gaze devoured the stranger's changing eyes. "Sing to me. I would listen to

one of thy songs, fair youth ; — to a song inspired by a night when the soul of the rose and the golden sigh of the moon are mated, while the bulbul chants the hour."

But the Persian poet did not seem to hear the words. He threw back his enveloping cloak. His paling face was wonderful to look upon. Of heroic mould it was, yet beautiful — beautiful as the countenance that has looked upon Zeus. In slow and solemn thrillings, his voice rose upon the music that his hand brushed like fire-sparks from his lute :

"I string the pearls of poetry
Upon the moon's white breast—
I sing the heav'nly Vision
Mine eyes have seen unroll,
When Aphrodite from the tides
Rose to my soul opprest,
And chanted to the Universe
The Sea Song of the Soul.

"I sing of —"

"Enough," interrupted the melodious but penetrating voice of the stranger. His eyes were marvelous to look upon now, as his left hand tightened like the grasp of a lover upon something hidden. "Enough."

"No, it's not enough," yelled the Spahi leading the shouts of the café. "Let him go on. He shall finish that line."

"I will finish it," answered the stranger with a curious smile. The eyes of the Persian poet were as if frozen upon the face of the Bosniac, who, glancing again at the white wonder of the moonlit shaft of the minaret beyond the casement, began slowly :

"In the dim bazaar of the Rue Babazoum he told me :
'Thou shalt find it Under the Minaret where a world wor-
ships at the Gate of Felicity, In the Thousand and Second
Night——'"

The very roof of the coffee house shook with the tumult :
"Can'st thou give IT, the untold Loveliness?" were the words that interrupted the stranger. The Spahi's eyes glittered. The fierce Kurd faces smiled ; the Circassians ceased

stroking the long rows of cartridges upon their breasts ; the Persian singer's face glowed again. The stranger went on in his melodious voice :

"In the dim bazaar of the Rue Babazoum, the Greek merchant told me. The room was dim with intoxicating perfume ; the haze spread dreams, exaltation, and forgetfulness over the tangled mesh of life. The Greek merchant's eye swept past the bundles of chibouks with their sticks of cherry and jasmine ; past the narghilés, damascened and encrusted with golden rings. The Greek merchant had just sold a tobacco pouch from the Lebanon, lozenged in many colors, to a messenger from the Sultana who desired to make a graceful present to the docile Grand Vizier. But the foot of the messenger had now withdrawn and in the dim silence of the bazaar, as the Greek merchant's eye ranged along the caftan of crimson velvet bordered with ermine, and the bridal veil sparkling with silver spangles——he told me :

'Thou shalt find IT Under a Minaret at the Gate of Felicity, where a world worships. Go toward——'

"And the man fell forward on his hands and face, and was dead, Mashallah ! before I could question him further. And I fled from the Rue Babazoum, lest the populace should say *I did it*. But I consecrated my life to his mandate : *'Under a Minaret thou shalt find IT, in the Thousand and Second unwritten Night, at the Gate of Felicity.'*

"What ?

"The question walked with me by day and waked with me by night. Winged with desire, but shadowed by fear as those dying eyeballs of the Greek merchant unclosed upon my sleeping hours and threaded through my days, I roamed from city to city——my only clew *'Under the Minaret at the Gate of Felicity.'* I roamed through narrow, crooked, tumbling streets, the intensity of Africa's blue sky glowing above white, sun-smitten walls. I sat at the feet of embroiderers and barbers, of saints and sinners, watching their lips that might, haply, let fall some unconscious clew to the *Gate of Felicity*. I dared not speak the word spoken to me in the ba-

zaar of the Rue Babazoum, lest another should follow on my track and obtain what the merchant's dying lips struggled to tell me.

"Under what minaret?"

"As I sat amidst the gardens of Cairo, it came to me one evening with a sickening start — after all, what was 'under the minaret'? Dared I risk my life for it? Would it be weal or woe? Yet those fire-words kept repeating themselves on my weary brain: '*At the Gate of Felicity.*'"

"What?"

"I roamed from country to country, I dug in the earth under the minarets of Islam — by night, always. In vain. I spent days under the tall crimson-striped tents of the Bedouin Arabs, and with them went to war in reckless delight, drunk with the strong wine of battle. They might, haply, tell me of a minaret beyond the mirage."

The stranger's left hand tightened still closer upon his clenched left palm, while his right hand left the great gesture he was writing on the silent air, and caressed his Bosnian sword. It then ran quickly along the handle of his dagger.

"Still I wandered.

"Through the beating music of the *Nobut-khanah* * of Teheran, I seemed to hear the words, unheard by others: '*Under the Minaret at the Gate of Felicity.*' Across the undulant blue shadows of the Gardens of Damascus that swim against the silver ether of the blinding desert light, I felt the words move in the sway of branch and blossom. Along the melodious singing of the fountains of the City of the Silver Streams, my eye followed their thousand crystalline changes high in the air, and I seemed to detect the murmuring: '*Under the Minaret, At the Gate of Felicity, In the Thousand and Second Night.*'"

"Still I wandered.

"It was night on the island of Melos, in the year 1820. The little town had been in festival all day. Wearied with watching the holiday makers, in whose sports I had no heart

* Music room.

to join, I wandered out of the little village of Kastron, and along its western wall. Afar, the Ægean trembled under a brightening moon. I wandered on with aimless feet to the ledge of the hill which is crowned with fragments of ancient buildings, and with a ruined temple of Parian marble. Oppressed with the day's heat, and the loneliness in the midst of brotherhood, I seated myself on a broken fragment of pillar and surrendered myself to the calm of the night. The breeze was awakening the soul of the orange groves below, and bearing up the hill the sweetness of their perfumed little leave lips, like frankincense to the feet of the white minaret that rose beyond the broken temple wall. The balm of the night hour, the odors of vine, and flower, and blossom, did their work upon my weary senses — and I fell asleep.

"I dreamed again of my world-wanderings. And, always, whether under the skies of Africa or of Albania, of Morocco, or of Shiraz, a white and wonderful shaft of minaret arose on the enchanted night. Across its one girdling balcony, I saw the lettered words stand forth in fire: '*At the Gate of Felicity. Thou shalt find IT under the Minaret.*'"

"I awoke. Where was I? It was the very heart of night. The moon had set. There was no sound save the lyric voice of the Ægean.

"I started to my feet. Where was I? The place was bathed in a voluptuous darkness save for a white flame that rose against the velvet orient night, down the perspective of the dark colonnades. It led on my glance to its gleaming.

"A marble of which all the world can produce no likeness, — loving and wounding with her glance, majestic, though heroic, enchantingly nude, and yet so nobly veiled, THE WOMAN that baffles and beckons the world. I was alone in the burning presence of the Goddess of Love. I cannot tell you, — we cannot explain these things, — but I found myself on my knees before the Divinity, the cameo on the dark hidden grotto of the great world heart. I gazed up and up to her: I saw the silent movement in those lines of pearly moonlight. Every curve had floated to its place in a deathless song of Hellas. How do I know it?

"Listen," cried the stranger through the terrible silence now upon the room. "I bowed myself before the divine woman. I hold the world secret in this palm. At her feet I found IT. Her arms —"

The stranger stopped. His hand clutched convulsively now upon that left palm. The room had stormed upon its feet, for the stranger's voice rolled out, while his burning eyes sought again the white minaret shaft beyond. "At her feet I found IT. And the master soul who created the deathless Marble where the world worships is re-incarnate in this Persian Poet —"

The Persian singer leaped forward. His face was the face of a god. But the wild stammering cry in the coffee house drowned his voice as the guests fled from the hand that was slowly unclosing upon Something; and from the face of the youth that had looked upon the Goddess whom all the world worships.

LUCY CLEVELAND.

DEMETRIUS N. BOTASSI.

New York.

RAMESES THE GREAT.

Moment supreme ! when progress radiant brings
From out the grave of centuries its prize,
And he, the Pharaoh of the ages, lies
To man revealed. Time stands with folded wings,
And silent points to days whose memory clings
Through all the stricken land in plaintive sighs ;
Those splendid days, whose sun no more shall rise,
Whose glory set with Egypt's mighty kings ;
Great sons of Ra, of Amen well-beloved ;
Lords of the South and North, whose double crown,
Uræus guarded, did their power portray
O'er Kamit fair, where all things lived and moved
To do their will, and in whose smile or frown
The joys and ills of countless thousands lay.

Greatest, save one, of Egypt's royal dead,
The glorious hero of Kadesh appears
So strangely calm—a majesty that fears
Nor death, nor time, 'round whose unconscious head
Both bard and sculptor have a halo shed ;
Though 'round him throng the ages nought he hears,
Back from a past of thrice a thousand years
He lies—the echo of a time that's fled.
Though his the deeds which formed the glowing theme
Of Egypt's Iliad, ere proud Troy was known,
Yet greater still in living stone we trace
The higher thoughts that in her temples gleam ;
Those mighty wonders which all time will own
The grandest archives of his throne and race.

BEATRICE HARLOWE.

Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

UNDER THE ROSE.

REFORMERS IN COUNCIL

As this number of The Arena goes to press, the eyes of reformers are turned expectantly towards Buffalo. Not only those who are openly classed with the reform forces, but all thinking men and women who look for better things, feel that the discussions at the coming conference cannot fail to be of the utmost importance to the future of our country. Unity is the watchword. Whatever minor differences at other times separate socialists and single taxers, populists and trades-unionists, monometalists and bimetalists, all are agreed on the necessity for emphasizing the forward movement at this time by deliberately considering the first step to be taken and taking it after an agreement to be reached by reasoning together in the spirit of amity. It is obvious that if practical results are to be obtained, there must be mutual concessions. It is obvious also that only one demand can be given the leading place. This, however, does not mean that other demands are to be ignored or slighted. Reforms that are naturally allied, will naturally advance together. The question as to which will lead, of two demands, such as that for direct legislation and that for government ownership of natural monopolies, must resolve itself wholly into a question of expediency. In going before the people, the temper of the time must be taken into account. The logic of events must have its way. However strongly the demand for direct legislation may appeal to those who have given the question careful attention, it as yet occupies only a secondary place in the minds of the masses of the voters. On the other hand, the evils of corporate domination are widely and deeply felt among all classes of our citizens. It is understood by the dullest that a continuation of the recent monstrous growth of corporation power menaces the liberties of the republic, and the erection upon its ruins of a

veritable plutocracy. The people have felt the pressure and are ready to act. In all our history, no issue has been more definitely and distinctly drawn than that which now faces us. The issue is distinctly a national one. There is no possibility of forcing sectionalism or class feeling into its decision. It is emphatically a contest between the people on the one side and the trusts on the other. The crushing power of these vast aggregations of capital is felt no less by the merchant and the manufacturer than by the farmer and the mechanic. No thinking man can doubt for an instant that this is the issue that stands out with a startling distinctness which throws all other issues into the shade. The very life of the republic is at stake. Whether the growing power of corporations is to be opposed by the simple negations of restrictive or repressive legislation, or whether the issue will be met fairly and squarely by a call for the logical and positive remedy of government ownership of natural monopolies, the near future must decide. Yet hand in hand with the demand for government ownership, if the popular opposition to corporate monopoly should take that shape, must inevitably go a demand for direct legislation. Americans are proverbially patient and long suffering under political abuses. One reason for this easy indifference has been a vague sense that busy people might well leave politics to the politicians and attend to their own affairs. Once the average citizen feels that "his business" is directly affected by legislation, he will realize the importance of holding legislators responsible and of freeing legislation from the control of corrupting influences. In many quarters it is deemed probable that one outcome of the conference will be the formation of a new party. So long as party organization is an inevitable feature of our political system, the organization of a new party, while not to be avoided when necessary, should, as a matter of mere economy, be considered only as a last resort. When one or the other of the great historical parties calls for government ownership of all natural monopolies, or even government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, to begin with, it would

be folly to organize a new party to embody that demand. If a new party is formed at the Buffalo conference, it should be tentative; that is, there should be a distinct understanding that the new party will put a ticket in the field only in the event that it should be denied an opportunity to ratify the platform and candidates of one or the other of the old parties. I say one or the other, but it is well understood that the realignment within party lines which began with the silverite bolt at St. Louis, and the goldite bolt at Chicago in 1896, has been steadily proceeding ever since, so that the conventions of 1900 will reveal the virtual development of a new party combining in large degree the best and most progressive elements of both the old parties in a New Democracy, and leaving the discredited adherents of the trusts to flock together under Mark Hanna's banner.

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**THE NATIONAL
EDUCATIONAL
ASSOCIATION**

This number of *The Arena* will be found to be largely an educational number, in the sense that it gives more space than usual to articles dealing with educational problems. This is done with direct reference to the convention of the National Educational Association, which is to meet at Los Angeles, July 11. I deem the opportunity a favorable one to call the attention of readers generally to the benefits flowing from these annual gatherings of men and women engaged in teaching. The discussions at these conventions are of interest not merely to teachers professionally, but to the whole body of citizens. In a large sense, we are all either teachers or students, and sometimes both. As parents, we are interested in the development of the modern training of children and youth; as citizens we cannot be blind to the close connection between education and good government. Mr. J. M. Rice of *The Forum* in a recent article makes an earnest plea for the adoption of methods of observation and study, which will give pedagogy fuller claim to consideration as an exact science and place the teaching profession on a

level with the other learned professions. So eminent and successful a teacher as Mr. C. Hanaford Henderson, on the contrary, boldly avows the belief that in a normal state of society, teaching will have no place as a distinct profession. Of course, the same might be said for the medical profession. Both deal, to a great extent, with abnormal conditions. The various problems of education and the subject generally, have unfortunately been relegated almost exclusively to those engaged in teaching. Its development, consequently, has been one-sided. What is needed more and more is intelligent coöperation between those specifically charged with the duties of the teacher, and those outside of the profession. Such crying evils as the utter sacrifice of individual development involved in the attempt of a single teacher to care for a class of from eighty to ninety pupils, as is the case in even the best regulated of our public schools, would soon be remedied if the public at large were made to realize all that it means to both teacher and pupils. It is this important end of promoting broader understanding and fuller coöperation, which The Arena hopes to serve by presenting from time to time such discussions of educational questions as must open up the whole matter luminously, and bring to bear upon it the results of wide study and experience from various standpoints.

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**JEFFERSON'S
DEMOCRACY**

A valued reader and correspondent at Paisley, Ill., takes exceptions to the partisanship displayed by Mr. Blair in an article in the May Arena questioning the right of the Democratic party to claim Jefferson as its founder. While these exceptions to the spirit and tone of Mr. Blair's article are certainly very well taken, the very partisanship exhibited by Mr. Blair serves to bring out in striking relief the littleness and narrowness of partisan politics. My correspondent well says:

"Outside of the politicians, most fairly well informed people regard the tariff question as a question wholly of

expediency and not of principle. How puerile, therefore, to balance Jefferson upon the question of a tariff with Jefferson the author of the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions! Advocacy of a tariff for protection during one period of our history and of a tariff for revenue during another, is no evidence of inconsistency either of conduct or of principle, but is merely a question of internal and external conditions of trade, which are liable to fluctuate with every decade. Nearly all of our early statesmen were on different sides of that question at different periods in their careers. Again, if one will read the discussions, documents, and legislative enactments which preceded the promotion and adoption of the present constitution, he will find that if the views afterwards embodied in the resolutions of '98 had not been acquiesced in by most of the advocates and supporters of the constitution, it never would have been accepted and ratified by a sufficient number of states to make a compact federal nation. One cannot read Jefferson's papers, letters, and sayings, without wonder at the remarkable range of his knowledge, his breadth of mind, and many-sidedness. If not a prophet, he was nearer to being one than any man in our history. The average politician of the present day cannot comprehend Jefferson, and perhaps this is the reason why one writing from so partisan a standpoint as Mr. Blair, cannot comprehend him."

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**THE
"CURATIVE
INFLUENCE"**

In a recent issue of "The Medical World" Dr. Fordyce H. Benedict frees his mind concerning the alleged evil of patent medicine vending, which he believes, "threatens not only the dignity of our beloved profession, but also its permanency. . . . undermining the very foundations of our stability as a profession." Frankly recognizing the difficulties in the way of securing prohibitory legislation, he urges that newspapers should be bought up by the profession in order that, side by side with the advertisement of a patent medicine, its formula should be printed. He ingenuously assumes that patent medicine vendors would continue advertising in mediums where their announcements should be neutralized in this manner. "Is the human system a mechanism which can endure the indiscriminate

administration of drugs with impunity?" he asks with fine irony, and he follows up the question with the pathetic confession, "We who have made the subject of the delicate machinery of life an intense study for years, feel how inadequate is all our knowledge to meet the different indications as presented in disease." Some sense of the enormity of the evil he complains of is shown by the assertion that "fully one half of all the chronic ailments that afflict our communities, is the result of the indiscriminate use of these same drugs. . . . Most chronic diseases are now treated by the druggists dispensing the so-called specifics." Still more significant, however, especially to those who have followed the development of mental therapeutics as a practical system, is Dr. Benedict's avowal that "nearly all of the patent medicines sold are utterly valueless-medicinally, and the only thing that causes them to be at all curative is *the influence they have on the mind of the individual*—suggestive expectation." I wonder how much value he would claim for his own prescriptions were this influence eliminated. He analyzes several popular patent remedies, to bear out his statement, emphasizing his admission by declaring, "If we, as physicians, should prescribe these same remedies to our patients, would they accomplish in our hands such wonderful results as are claimed by patent medicine vendors? No. It needs the green panel-bottle with its pink label and alluring suggestions to effect a cure so startling and universal." If the writer of this article, and the readers of the "Medical World," which is a monthly, published in the interests of the medical profession, have really reached a place where they can recognize that people are cured by the thousand every day by mental suggestion, even when hampered by conveyance in the shape of patent medicines concocted of ingredients that are "utterly valueless medicinally," the doctors are far on the way to the recognition of the worse than uselessness of drugs generally, and of the logical efficiency of mental suggestion as a natural means of healing. The editor of the "Medical World" suggests as one way of overcoming the

encroachments of the patent medicine vendors on "the rights of the profession," a law compelling manufacturers of nostrums of this sort, to print the formula on every bottle or package. It is alleged that if people knew the actual composition of these alleged remedies, they would be unwilling to swallow them; that is, their faith in the healing efficacy of the remedy, or rather in the suggestion accompanying it, would be destroyed. In one breath the patent medicines are denounced as being responsible for most of the chronic ailments of the community, and in the next, the suggestion always accompanying their sale is credited with miraculous curative power. The real animus of this attack on patent medicines seems to be simply a desire to intrench the medical monopoly, not in the interests of the public, but in the interests of the monopolists. If the enormous sale of patent medicines is really furnishing demonstration on an enormous scale of the power of mental suggestion in the cause and cure of disease, and if their increased use is tending to break down the medical monopoly of a privileged class, these things are certainly not unalloyed evils. Still the suggestion that the formulas for these preparations be printed on every package is a good one. The more reputable compounders of proprietary medicines already follow this rule as a matter of commercial enterprise. The same rule, however, should be carried out in putting up physicians' prescriptions.

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**THE
UNORGANIZED
ELEMENT**

E. A. Hoisington of St. Johns, Mich., writes me that he believes Governor Pingree was elected by the great unorganized element in the various political parties of Michigan, as he understands it; "and this unorganized element believes in the ideas of which *The Arena* is the logical exponent." This may be so, but if they will read *The Arena* they will discover that it calls for organization. "B. Fay Mills in his January article," continues my correspondent, "touched the keynote of the situation. Nine out of ten whom

I meet, without regard to party, are in favor of coöperation. The government, organized on the basis of coöperative protection and distribution, is the only power strong enough to compete with the present great aggregations of capital." Mr. Mills, however, is far from ignoring the importance of utilizing party organizations already formed, and would develop them by bringing their platforms and purposes up to date.

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**PATRIOTISM
AND
DIVIDENDS**

The publication of Mr. Strong's article on "Blacklisting," in the March Arena, has called out information in regard to the prevalence of this practice, from various industries all over the country. Even in so new a country as Arizona, this blight has shown itself, following closely upon the corporate grasp of the natural mineral resources of that territory, which has been called "The New Eldorado." Not only are striking miners blacklisted, as I am informed, but the law regarding the importation of contract labor has been violated in law and in spirit, especially in the mines at Clifton and Morenci. Of course, this violation of law is not open. The superintendents resort to the thin device of securing laborers from Old Mexico and from Italy, through the relatives of such laborers already employed in the mines. There are also agents operating at El Paso, known to be engaged in the work of furnishing such contract labor to Arizona corporations. The labor of Mexican peones is awarded preference to that of native-born Americans, who are discriminated against to such an extent that the displaced American laborers have already in large numbers been compelled to "tramp it." The disintegration of American character, so my correspondent informs me, has gone so far that, during the recent war, an American flag was torn down from its place over the engine-house of the mine at Morenci, although it was quickly replaced by an outraged American worker. Not unnaturally, American miners who believe in an American standard of living and of manhood, criticise the

alleged patriotism which impelled a mining superintendent in this section to fight for the flag with Roosevelt in Cuba, only to return and continue the practice of employing cheap Chinese, Italian, and Mexican labor in preference to industrious, intelligent, and patriotic Americans. Not only the lack of patriotism, but the lack of justice in this course, is felt all the more severely in view of the present high price of copper, and the immense fortunes earned in consequence by the mine owners.

* * * *

The action of General Merriam during the recent strike of miners in Idaho, confirms **A FORETASTE OF MILITARISM** with startling promptness the forebodings of those who see in the policy of militarism inaugurated by the present administration, a menace to the liberties, not merely of the Filipinos, but also of American citizens at home. According to the Spokane Freeman's Journal, martial law was proclaimed in the county of Shoshone without a semblance of justification, and in furtherance of a deep-laid plan on the part of the mine owners to break up the Western Labor Union. In the endeavor to procure evidence to effect this end, witnesses were threatened, under examination in General Merriam's presence; one was told that if he did not tell whom he saw at Wardner, he would go back to the pen and stay there until he was gray headed. To a second, it was intimated that he would get only one meal a day until he recovered his memory. In a third instance, the witness was told, "twenty years imprisonment stares you in the face unless you tell us the secrets of the Western Labor Union." A Wardner correspondent of the Journal reports that Dr. France, an employee of Rockefeller's Bunker Hill and Sullivan mine, has usurped the functions of the sheriff, who is in the bull pen, and that this representative of the pious philanthropist employs for deputies, the lowest type of criminals, who attempt to terrorize the prisoners and their wives in the endeavor to compel them to confess, or betray their comrades. So far, none of the men have confessed, all reports to the

contrary notwithstanding. The celerity with which the federal forces are employed in the interests of these mining corporations in Idaho, notwithstanding the fact that the civil courts were in unobstructed operation, indicates clearly that the evil prophesied in regard to the un-American, and un-democratic exaltation of the military power is already upon us. What has happened in Idaho may happen at any time in New York, Boston, Chicago, or San Francisco. In the words of Ex-President Harrison, "It is a condition, and not a theory that confronts us."

* * * *

**NOT ALL
ROSES**

By way of encouragement to others, I have taken pardonable pleasure from time to time in printing the cordial words of appreciation with which *The Arena* has been received in various quarters. It must not be supposed, however, that the comment and criticism bestowed on my humble efforts are all of this complimentary nature. Life is not all beer and skittles. Criticism, when honest and fair-minded, is always welcome and always helpful. Much professed criticism, however, reveals, not so much concern for the maintenance of elevated standards in thought and conduct, as anxiety to proclaim the bias of the critic. Such criticism thus serves a more or less useful purpose, and is often unintentionally amusing for its naiveté. It is not at all singular, for instance, to find that the *Minneapolis Journal* sees in Mr. George Fred Williams's plea for the people's power to control their own currency, a plea for a "debased, rotten, and depreciated currency," and in Mr. Anderson's article on "The Janizaries of Plutocracy" "a mass of stupor," to say nothing of the reference to Mr. Benjamin Fay Mills as one who has "declared himself a descendant of a remote baboon, and lectures to Boston audiences upon the glittering generalities of evolution, setting forth theories of human brotherhood from which he eliminates the objective God." The sting of this alleged critique is found in its tail. Under cover of the stereotyped epithets which reveal the plutogogue's poverty of mental re-

source, the writer manages to sneak past the editorial blue pencil a fossilized theological fling at the science of our century — at Darwin, and Huxley, and Spencer, and all the great minds in and out of the church, who regard the theory of evolution as worth considering. Plainly, this would-be critic writes himself down an—ancient and superannuated pulpiteer, behind the times and out of a job. It is the careless habit of some of our esteemed back-country contemporaries to allow one of these rusty individuals, with more time on his hands than he knows what to do with, to pay for his paper by writing "literary criticisms." That the *odium theologicum* is the bitterest of all hates is proverbial. To minds of this sort, a difference in theological conceptions, fills the whole horizon. They nose through literature, seeking for heresy as a hound scents a hare, and see nothing else. Would it not be well to confine this sort of narrowness and bigotry to the distinctively "religious" publications, where it seems to be at home? Miss Morrell's appreciative sketch of Benjamin Fay Mills and his work in the February Arena seems to have acted on the editorial mind of the "Cumberland Presbyterian" of Nashville like a red rag on a bull. The result is a dozen lines of frothy, inane, meandering inuendo and misrepresentation, imputing to The Arena "a strange mingling of the cracked voices of disappointed adventurers." Utterances of this sort, palpably dishonest, malicious, and intended to deceive the public in regard to every sweet and true and beautiful thing dreamed or done by the world's real men and women, bring dishonor on the name of religion. While seeking only to promote peace and good will among men, I must be pardoned some degree of pride in the abuse as well as in the praise which my editorial course evokes. And this I say, not in resentment, but in the desire to make my sincere acknowledgments to our friend the enemy.

**BEHIND
THE BARS
YET FREE**

It is not often that the reading of a single magazine article produces such immediate betterment of mind and body as is related in a letter to *The Arena* by a young man at the time confined in a county jail as witness in a murder case. The writer describes himself as successively boy cornetist, tramp, general utility man, drummer for a liquor firm, clerk, actor, theatrical manager, farmer, and lastly, cornetist at the theater where the murder occurred. His education was obtained through "self, grammar school, phrenology, physiognomy and metaphysics — all superficial." Jail life made him a pessimist. *The Arena* changed his pessimism to optimism. "I read the article on Universal Freedom many times through," he writes further. "Especially the passage which refers to being enslaved or free according to the spirit within; that no prison bars can hold an enlightened soul. From a bitter and morose man, almost a nervous wreck, my condition at the time I received *The Arena*, I have been changed to a calm, contented man. Although still under lock and key, I am no longer confined." Then follows a brief record of thoughts written a day or two before full enlightenment came, when he had become thoroughly disgusted with his old life, which he describes as a "rapid succession of high spirituality and abject depravity."

"On this twentieth day of January, 1899, I do hereby resolve that I will no longer use tobacco in any form, as it is injurious to an alarming extent, and as I am naturally of a nervous temperament. As soon as the nicotine is out of my system, any craving that I now have will be gone, and by avoiding it at all times I shall gain steadily in strength of will-power and self-control. Concentration is the essence of greatness; toward it I shall ever strive, by continuously writing my thoughts upon all subjects, no matter how crude they may seem at first. I can do much if I try, and do not give up my struggle for what is right. Any man who sincerely tries to do right, can be a powerful influence for good in the world. And every day I abstain from tobacco and other vices will give me more strength of purpose. Each

day brings with it the serious need of a social revolution, not a bloody one, as that kind seldom makes any great advance, and usually leads to degeneration. The peaceful revolution brought about by serious thought and knowledge, is a steady advance toward better conditions and universal brotherhood."

* * * *

**STARVATION
IN ITALY**

As one result of the wide publicity given to the actual state of affairs in Italy, through Mrs. Dario Papa's article, "The Italian Revolt," in the May Arena, the Italians in this country are likely to be aroused to proper action. Mrs. Papa tells me in a recent letter that she has received many letters in consequence of the article. Any one who desires to verify Mrs. Papa's statements in regard to the *pellagra*, or hunger sickness, can do so by examining the reports as to cases of insanity and death, during the last two years, on file at the Bureau of Statistics in Rome. These facts show, beyond the possibility of denial, that there are today not less than one hundred thousand *pellagrosi* in Italy. In fact this is a conservative estimate, as only new cases are reported under the head of *pellagra*. "Hunger cases," Mrs. Papa says, "are not even received at the hospitals. After the patient has come for treatment a certain number of times, he is simply told to go home and eat, for the hospitals cannot possibly take care of all the *pellagrosi*. As one in that condition is seldom able to work, he cannot earn bread to eat; so the *pellagra* is increasing." It will be remembered that in her article Mrs. Papa described this sickness, which has given the Italian name "*pellagra*" a ghastly significance, as "hunger sickness," and, in plain English, slow starvation. Furthermore, this condition among the masses of the people is shown to be the direct result of maladministration on the part of the Italian government. The condition of the reconcentrados in Cuba, before the war is, in fact, paralleled in sunny Italy; and if the wholesale and systematic starvation of hundreds of thousands of people, and the continuance of the system responsible for that starvation, was justification for our inter-

ference in Cuba, surely the condition of the people of Italy today justifies like interference in the name of common humanity. It is somewhat significant, also, that, until Mrs. Papa's revelation of the actual condition of affairs, made through her lectures and The Arena article, the conspiracy of silence on the part of the press, on both sides of the Atlantic, seems to have succeeded in blinding the outside world. It has been felt, perhaps, that the results of militarism in Italy differ in degree, and not in kind, from the results of this system in other countries of Europe, especially in Germany and France. The intimate connection between taxes and human life are not always apparent to the ordinary citizen called upon to express his judgment at the polls. Mrs. Papa shows very clearly that the burden of Italy's present armament has crushed the working masses of the population, not merely to the starvation point, but to actual starvation on an awful scale. What has followed militarism in Italy will follow that policy wherever pursued. If argument were needed in favor of the Czar's peace proposals, the condition of the Italian people today certainly furnishes that argument — argument that is as unanswerable as it is appalling. Those who are talking glibly of increasing the American army to one hundred thousand men, and of putting the sea arm of the United States "on a par with that of the great powers of Europe," should take into account the *pellagra* and its lessons.

* * * *

Mr. Andrew Carnegie has sold his interest in the Carnegie Steel and Iron Works for one hundred million dollars in five per cent. bonds, and retired from business. He announces his intention to devote this enormous fortune to charity; to dispensing it in public benefactions during his lifetime, rather than arranging for its post-mortem distribution. It does not seem to occur to Mr. Carnegie that the most obvious distribution of so enormous a surplus, accumulated however legally from the exertions of thousands of

workmen, through a long period of years, would be its return to those who earned it. By what process of reasoning does Mr. Carnegie ethically justify a primary distribution of the product of his mines and mills, which gives to the individual capitalist a hundred million dollars, and to thousands of workmen a bare subsistence? To believe that Mr. Carnegie really believes such a system of distribution to be just, would be to impugn his intelligence, to say nothing of his conscience. Knowing it to be unjust, what better use of these millions can he make than to devote them to changing the system? Of course, he might bring up the threadbare story of the late Baron Rothschild's offer to give to a committee of communists their pro rata share of his wealth. Simply to make restitution by dividing \$100,000,000 among the 80,000,000 of our American population, or even among the 10,000 employees of the Carnegie works, would effect little. It is not that sort of "dividing up" that sensible socialists advocate. If such a distribution were made, in fact, without any change in the system by which the wrongful distribution came about, nothing would be gained. What is needed is a change in the system. There are several important movements, all of which aim at securing a more equitable distribution of the wealth produced by the world's workers. The progress of any or all of these movements is largely dependent upon financial support. Indeed, lack of the sinews of war is about the only thing that makes the effort to secure public ownership of public monopolies, an eight-hour day, or a minimum wage scale — to mention a few practical demands — so slow and so difficult. One hundred million dollars would certainly go a long way towards securing one, if not all, of these primary reforms; all of which every genuine philanthropist must ardently desire. The Chicago Chronicle, in a recent editorial on this subject, very well says that "had Mr. Carnegie paid to his men a tithe of the millions he now proposes to spend for self-glorification, there would have been no Homestead strike, no Pinkerton guards, no state militia, no graves on the hillside overlooking the Monongahela River.

Every stone in the buildings he is going to erect will be cemented with blood. New-born philanthropy, even though it be genuine, will not serve as a mantle for a quarter of a century's industrial cannibalism." It is well, however, if Mr. Carnegie's conscience is beginning to stir even at this late day. Let us hope that he will not stop half-way in his plans for restitution. — P. T.

BOOKS OF THE MONTH.

THE SOCIAL IDEAL Students of social reform and those who are earnestly laboring for the betterment of conditions, will be greatly encouraged and benefited by Vida Scudder's new book.

("Social Ideals In English Letters"; 8vo, cloth, 329 pp.; \$1.75; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.) The author traces the gathering forces which, centralized after long ages of evolution, point to social regeneration with such emphasis, that the reader feels an inspiration and a conviction which history alone can give. The author begins with the dawn of the class struggles in England, points out the first intimations of brotherhood, and the early evidences of a democratic ideal slowly taking shape in the pioneer literature of socialism, until in the Victorian age, poets, novelists, essayists, a steadily increasing host — unite in voicing the spirit which began to inspire men so long ago. Particular attention is called to Langland, who, in "Piers Plowman," was the first to speak for the people, and to dignify the laborer with the name of hero. Langland was essentially the comrade of the poor, and to him the workingman was the best embodiment of the Christ; whereas Sir Thomas Moore, to whose "Utopia" Miss Scudder devotes many instructive pages, wrote from the point of view of the statesman, observing, rather than mingling with the poor. Utopia was the outcome of the new

individualism, and a general indictment of the social conditions of the age. Uniformity in the distribution of labor and its products is its basis : it pictures mankind living under the conditions of wholesome freedom, and is so modern, so prophetic, that one would have expected its prophecies to have reached an earlier realization. But no, political and religious liberty had first to be won in England. The social ideal falls for a time into the background. It is impossible to exaggerate the aristocratic tendencies of Elizabethan literature. The contribution of Puritanism to social literature is also notably slight. The works of Jonathan Swift are a vigorous, almost pessimistic revolt against these anti-social tendencies. Swift saw in society an utter absence of all ideal aims ; in politics a scramble of personal ambition and intrigue ; in the life of the poor, an inevitable, irremediable tragedy. The church becomes allied with the conservative forces of polite respectability, and it is not until the days of "Sartor Resartus" that literature once more assumes a social attitude. The first half of our century is the period of discovery of social issues : to face those issues has been the work of our own time. The literature of the people begins with Dickens and Thackeray ; the social conscience is immensely stimulated by the work of George Eliot, until in these later days the social ideal has found inspired expression in the literature of culture, in the essays of Arnold and Ruskin, in the fiction of Howells, in the Fabian Essays, the genius of William Morris, and the host of minor authors whose messages consciously or unconsciously voice the aspirations and principles of evolutionary socialism. The author gives due place to literature of the type of Blatchford's "Merrie England," but is chiefly concerned with the finer spirit of recent socialist authors. The point of view is never that of the ardent advocate of any particular social ideal, but ever the sympathetic attitude of the true scholar, of one who has produced a book on the social ideal, not because she wished to prove its power in English literature, but who chronicles the ideal because its evolution is a fact. The book will therefore appeal to and influence those who would be repelled

by literature of a distinctively socialistic type. Its style is throughout so graceful, its tone so elevating, its spirit so sympathetic that one would gladly have read it simply for this.

H. W. D.

* * * *

**LILIAN
WHITING'S
VERSE**

The lovers of Lilian Whiting's work, and they number thousands, will welcome this beautiful edition of her poems. ("From Dreamland Sent," by Lilian Whiting. New Edition with additional poems. White and gold, 16mo, 163 pp. \$1.50; Little, Brown & Co., Boston.) It includes much tender and graceful verse full of that absolute faith in the Divine and in divine care and love that mark at every point the work of this most spiritual of writers. There is no other name in American literature of today, that carries with it the same sense of keen intelligence and trained critical ability, united to insight that never fails—of full knowledge of the world, of playful humor, and full power of analysis as of satirical quality, yet who gives us, running through the whole like a golden thread, this steady insistence on the place of the higher life, and the nearness of what we have called the "Unknowable." Love and sorrow, the loss of the friend whose place in her life meant a large portion of its best things, have given an insight into human pain and the meaning it bears, so clear, so delicate, that the saddest soul must be cheered at the thought she has made her own. It is an absolutely radiant faith that glorifies the lines as in her "Easter Lilies."

Again, O Love, the Easter lilies bloom!
Music and fragrance are upon the air;
And thou, Beloved, in the realms more fair,
Hast thou found nobler faith and larger room
And purer purpose in that new life where
My love attends thee? Still I seem to know
Thy radiant presence with me, as I go
Thus sweet-companioned through the crowded ways,
Lifting to thrill of joy, my works and days.

New meanings come; I learn through clearer thought
 How fair the work that by thy life is wrought;
 The world is better that thy truth was taught;
 And so with deeper trust, and joy complete,
 I bring my Easter greeting to thee, Sweet.

Miss Whiting herself, the least pretentious of writers, counts her poetry simply "verses," but they linger with one, carrying a haunting quality far beyond the written word. This is true no less of her prose, the little volumes of the "World Beautiful" holding thoughts that mean not only high spiritual quality, but also that rare common sense, that is itself next to genius, and without which genius often fails of its mission. There is noble work before this writer, whose mission it may be to make clearer than have all the psychical societies, some facts long looked on as fictions, and whose own faith has proved itself a working one, carrying with it steadily increasing power and happiness. And what more could one ask of any faith? — HELEN CAMPBELL.

* * * *

**THE MORALITY
 OF
 FLESH-EATING**

Few readers of Sydney Beard's stirring pamphlet, "Is Flesh-Eating Morally Defensible?" (29 pp., 2 cents, Order of the Golden Age, Ilfracombe, England) can resist the force of this powerful argument for vegetarianism. The argument is briefly as follows:

(1) As man is a fruit-eating animal, not possessing either teeth suitable for tearing flesh, or digestive organs by nature adapted to its assimilation, the consumption of dead bodies is a violation of our nature. (2) The custom of eating flesh involves an incalculable amount of suffering, unjustifiable except in cases of absolute necessity. (3) The consumption of flesh is the direct cause of a great amount of human suffering and disease. A leading medical authority states that "a fifth of the total amount of meat consumed is from animals killed in a state of disease, malignant or chronic." An English meat inspector asserted upon oath that he believed eighty per cent. of the meat was tuberculous, and the use of such meat is doubtless the chief cause of consumption,

a disease which is now unanimously pronounced infectious. Flesh-eating is also deemed a chief cause of cancer, rheumatic gout, liver complaints, and dyspepsia. (4) The practice of flesh-eating is detrimental to man's physical, moral, and spiritual welfare, since it is, to a large extent, the cause of drunkenness, poverty, crime, vice; and abstinence from it is far more important than abstinence from strong drink. Christian missionary work has been greatly hampered because the flesh-eating missionary is instinctively regarded as on a lower plane by the Buddhist or Brahmin, who believes it utterly wrong to kill and to eat animals. But worse than all are the horrors of the cattle ship. In one year, fourteen thousand animals, in course of transit to England, were thrown into the sea, one thousand two hundred and forty were landed dead, and four hundred and fifty-five were slaughtered on the quays to save them from dying of their wounds. During every year three millions of cattle are exposed to these sufferings, for nearly ten thousand a day "arrive upon our shores, to minister to the supposed needs of Christian England."

— H. W. D.

* * * *

The articles by Charles Brodie Patterson that have been published in "Mind" during the past year, are now issued in book form under the title of "New Thought Essays" (Alliance Publishing Company, New York, 103 pp., price, \$1.00.) In the preface the author announces that his intention is "to present a study of life in its various phases from a spiritual basis." He holds that the ideal man existed before the external expression, and that life's great object is the unfolding of the perfect ideal. "It must be admitted by all," he says, "that if man is a spiritual being, an immortal soul, knowledge of things that pertain to soul-growth—to the unfolding of powers latent within the soul—must be of greater importance than anything or everything in the outer world." The first four papers deal with the power of mind over matter, and show how inharmonious thought changes into discord the healthful vibrations of the body, producing disease and affecting for ill those about us, while harmonious

thought has the opposite effect. Man unites within himself two worlds, we are told: the outer world and the inner, which is the vital spark, the enduring nature of man. The outer is of itself nothing, i. e., it is entirely dependent on the inner being. Every change that affects it is the result of growth or the lack of growth in the inner.

From this the author goes on to show how, through the power of thought, we may control our mental and physical life, including environment. "Mind is an outgrowth of the soul, as the body is the outgrowth of mind. Mind is that aspect of being that relates man to the world of form; so that every thought conceived by man images itself in his mind." This "imaging faculty" enables us to make our environment what we choose, for the "heaven within shapes the heaven without." If we maintain harmony in our inmost center, we relate ourselves to the harmony without, for like attracts like. Thus, we attract to ourselves conditions and people that we invite. This inner man—this inner power—we may bring out in greater degrees by right cultivation, which consists of meditation, concentration, and contemplation; all of which is explained at length.

Probably the essay on "Breath Vibration" is the most important of this helpful series. The writer emphasizes the fact that breath does not penetrate the lungs alone, but also circulates between every molecule of the body when one breathes properly. Controlled and directed breath-action is of the utmost importance. This the people of the East fully realize, and much that they do which seems mysterious to us is accomplished simply by breath-action. On the whole, it will be found that the teachings of these "New Thought Essays" are as practicable in application to the needs of everyday life, as they are exalted and inspiring in sentiment.

— F. P. P.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

Prompt mention will be made in this list of all books received. The selection of volumes for further notice will be determined by editorial judgment of their importance.

"The Lesson of Popular Government," by Gamaliel Bradford; 2 vols., cloth, \$4.00; The Macmillan Co., New York.

"Modern Political Institutions," by Simeon E. Baldwin; cloth, 387 pp.; Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

"The Growth of Democracy in the United States," by Frederick A. Cleveland; cloth, 532 pp., \$1.50; The Quadrangle Press, Chicago.

"Democracy: A Study of Government," by James H. Hyslop, Ph. D.; cloth, 296 pp., \$1.50; Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

"Social Elements, Institutions, Character, Progress," by C. R. Henderson; cloth, 405 pp.; Scribner's Sons.

"Harmonics of Evolution," by Florence Huntley; cloth, 463 pp.; published by the author, Chicago.

"The Golden Age Cook Book," by Henrietta L. Dwight; cloth, 178 pp., \$1.00; The Alliance Publishing Co., New York.

"Christ in the Industries," by W. R. Halstead; cloth, 170 pp.; Curts & Jennings, Cincinnati.

"Unforeseen Tendencies of Democracy," by E. L. Godkin; cloth, 265 pp.; Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

"That Duel at the Chateau Marsanac," by Walter Pulitzer; cloth, 12mo, 120 pp., 75 cents; Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York.

"The Science of Health, Holiness and Happiness," paper, 205 pp., 25 cents; and "Miscellaneous Thoughts on Divine Science," paper, 16 pp., 10 cents; published by the author, S. G. Shroyer, Oklahoma City, Okla.

"American Monodies, dedicated to the poor, the weak, the unfortunate, and the outcast," by Lydia Platt Richards; cloth, 126 pp.; Editor Publishing Co., Franklin, Ohio.

"American Art Annual," 1898, edited by Florence N. Levy; cloth, 538 pp., \$3.00; The Macmillan Co., New York.

"The Negro: His Rights and Wrongs, the Forces for and Against Him," by Rev. F. J. Grimke, D.D., Washington, D. C.; paper, 100 pp.

"Sun, Planet and Moon Development," by William Nims, Fort Edward, N. Y.; paper, 20 pp.

"The New Movement for Government by the People," report of the conference at Cincinnati, March 1, 1899; paper, 16 pp., 5 cents; The New Era Co., Springfield, Ohio.

"Waters That Pass Away," a novel, by N. B. Winston; cloth, 322 pp., \$1.25; G. W. Dillingham & Co., New York.

Preliminary Report of the Income Account of Railways in the United States for the year ending June 30, 1898; paper, 70 pp.; Interstate Commerce Commission, Washington, D. C.

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